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Tantalizing tango

The dance's magnetism pulls in couples around the globe (p. 152)

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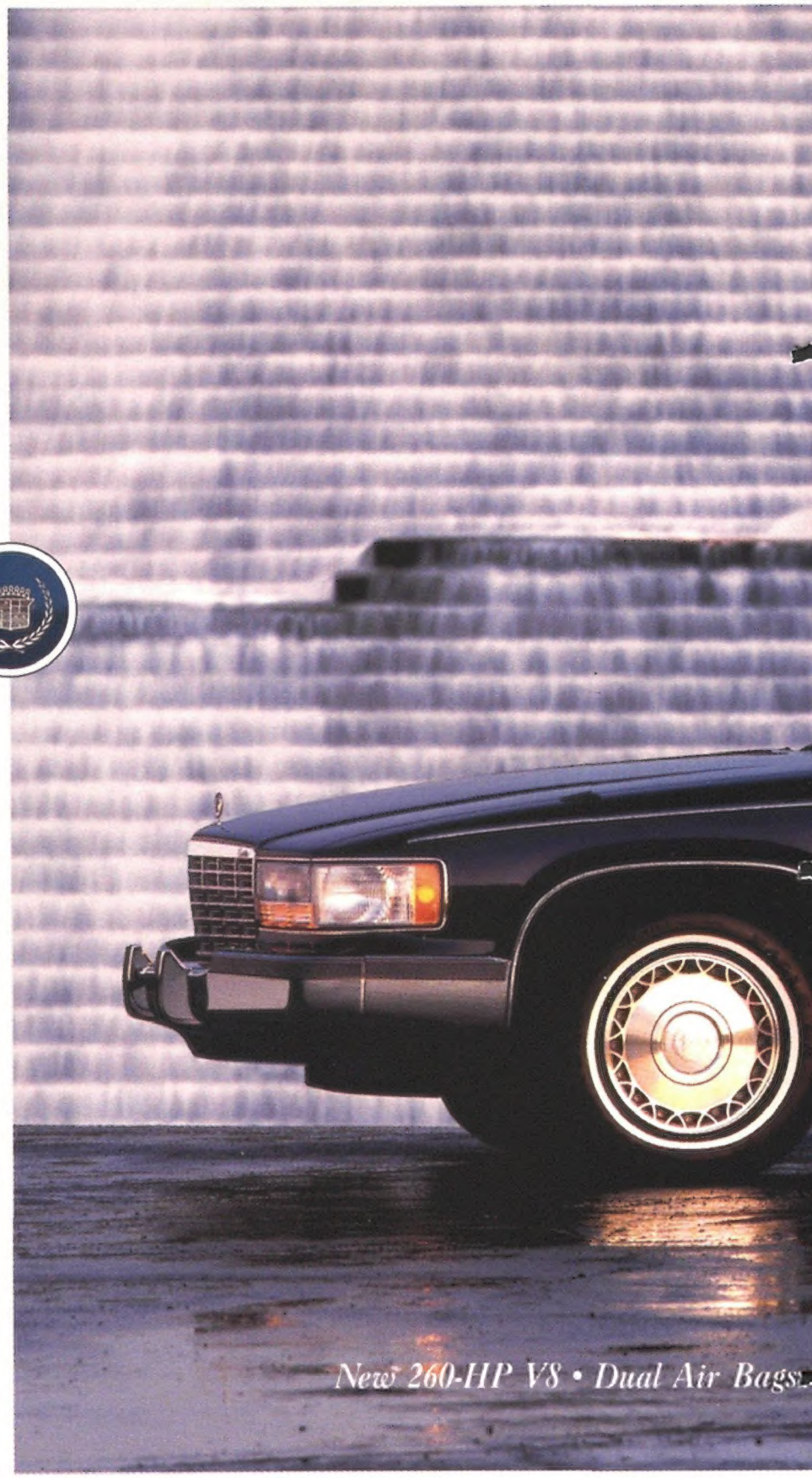

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Subscription price is $22 a year in U.S. and possessions, $35 elsewhere. 80 percent of dues is designated for magazine subscriptions. Single copy price is $3. Second-class postage paid at Washington, DC and additional mailing offices.
Editorial offices are at 900 Jefferson Drive, Washington, DC 20560.
Advertising and circulation offices are at 420 Lexington Ave., New York, NY 10170.
Members: Please address all subscription correspondence and change of address information to Smithsonian, P.O. Box 55593, Boulder, CO 80322-5593; or call 800-766-2149 or 303-449-9609.
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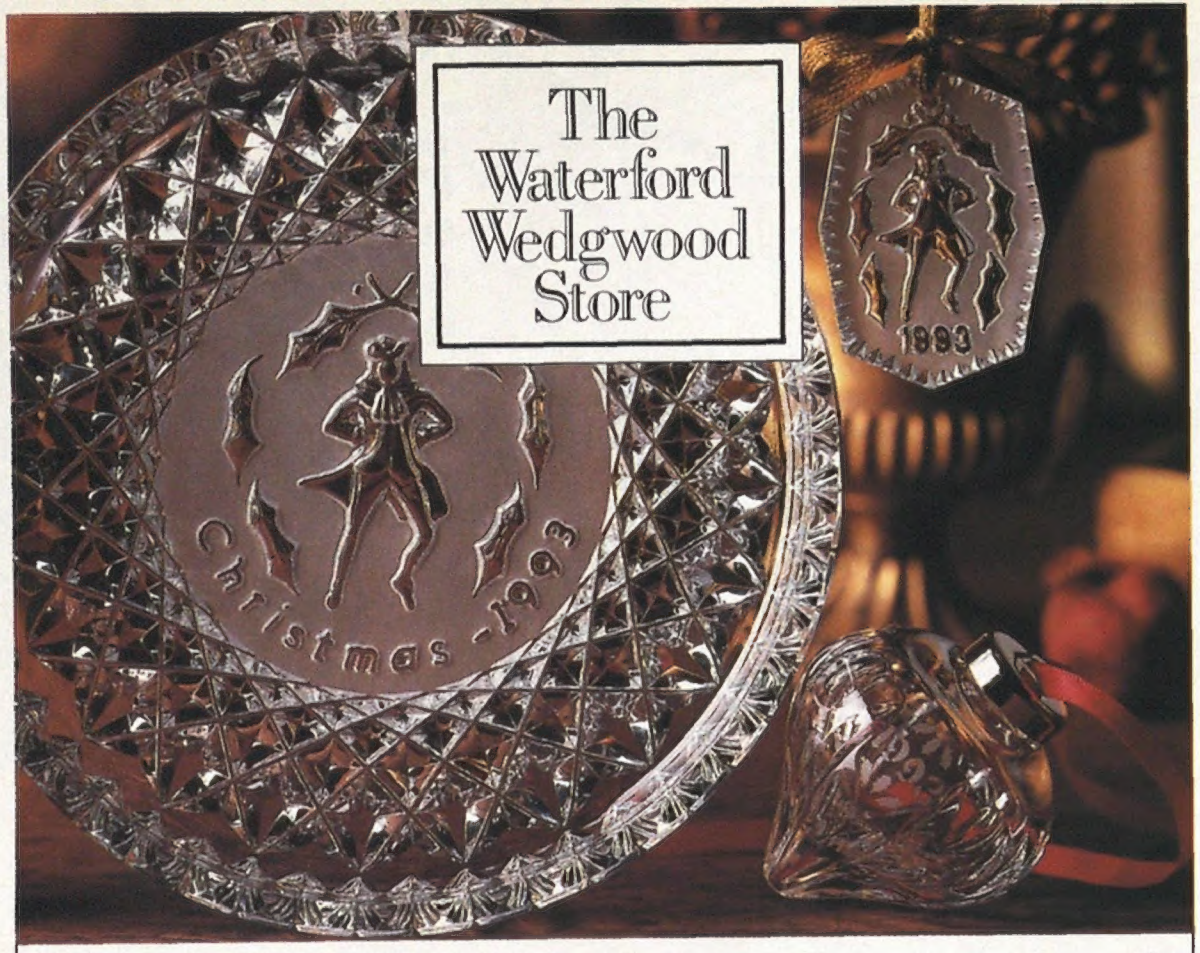

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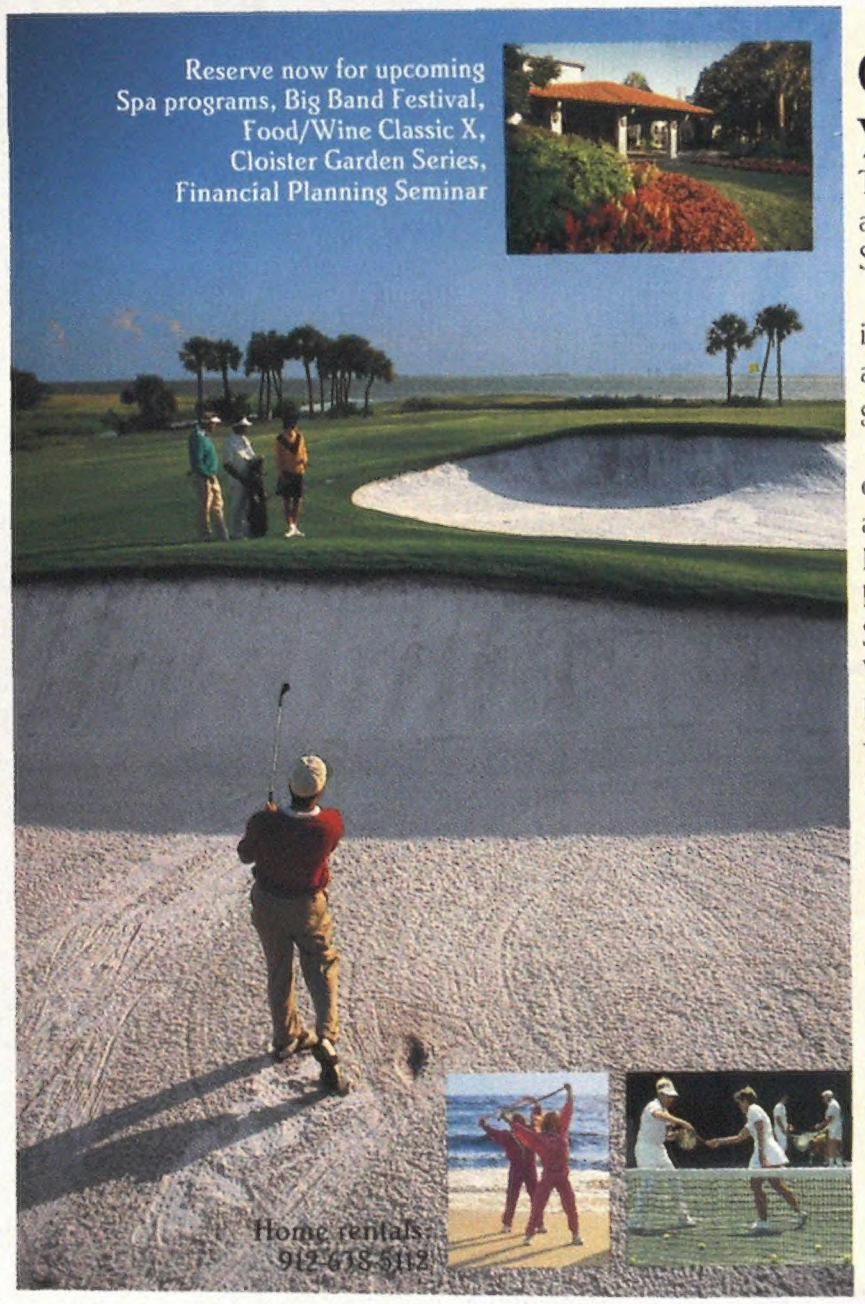

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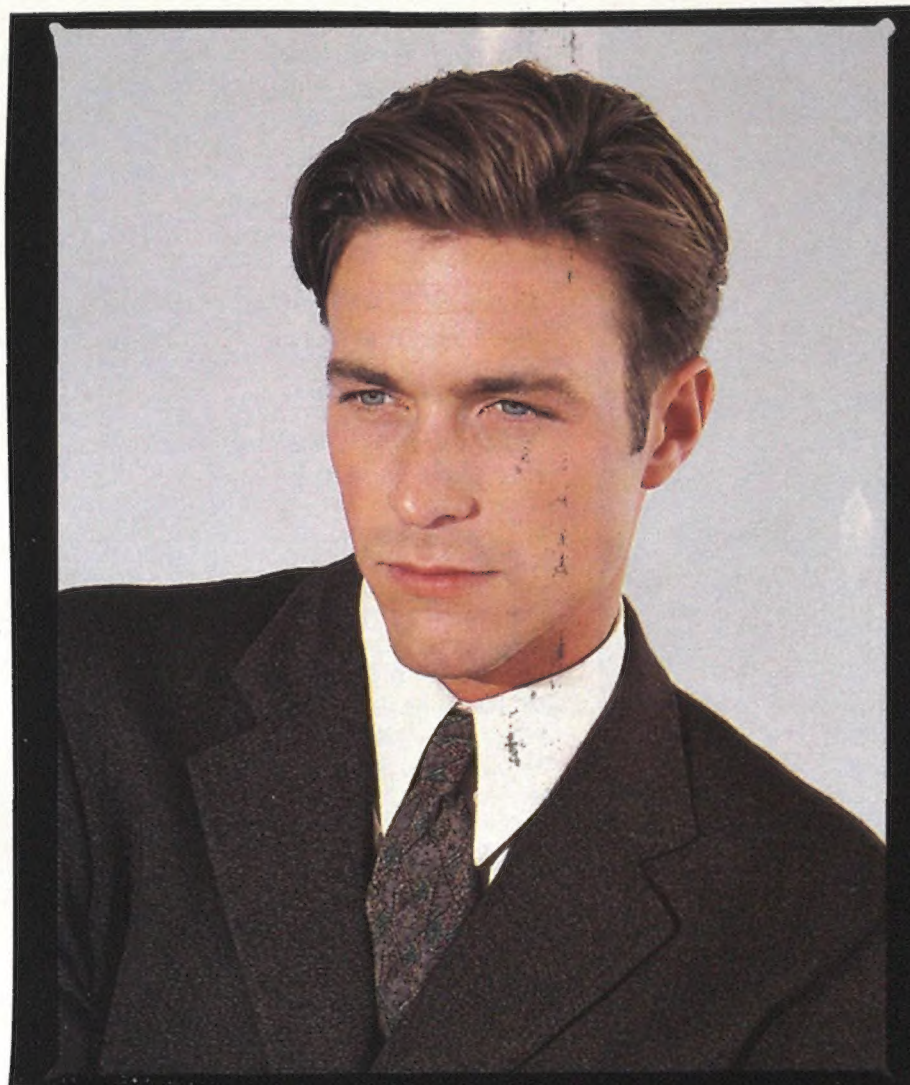

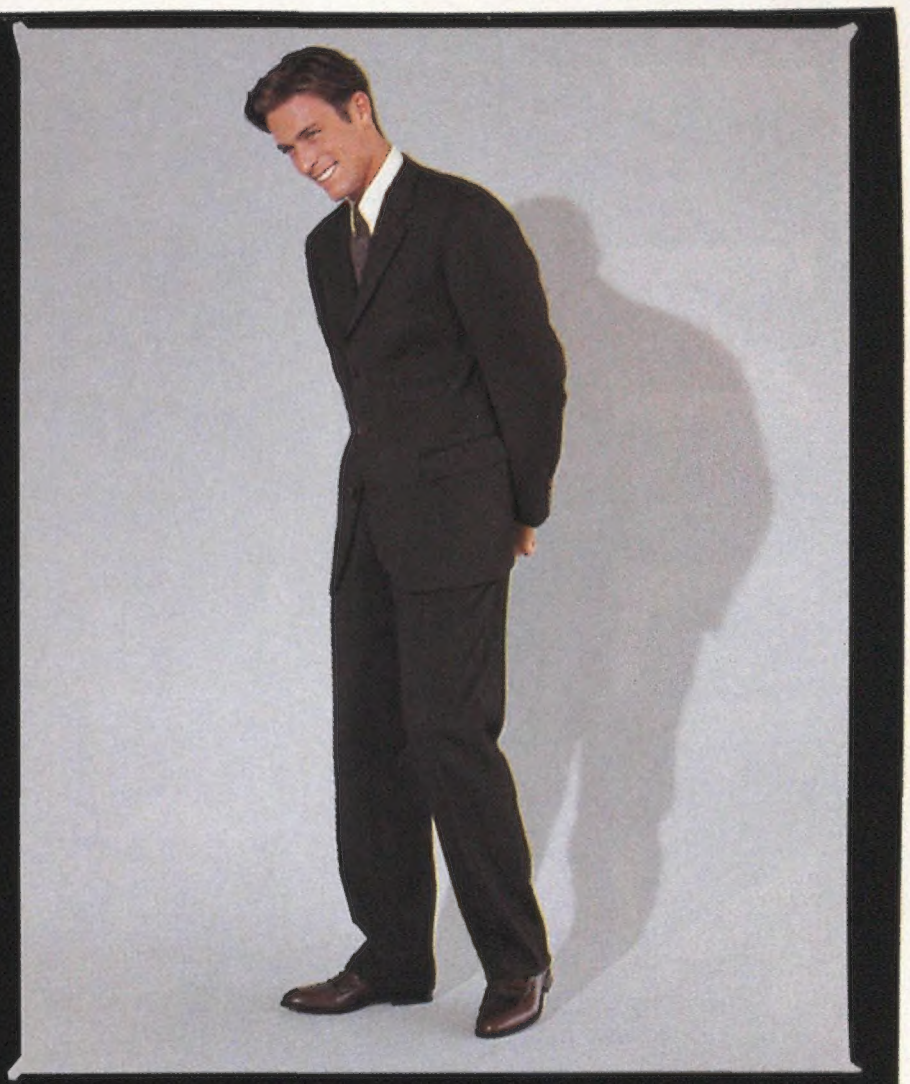

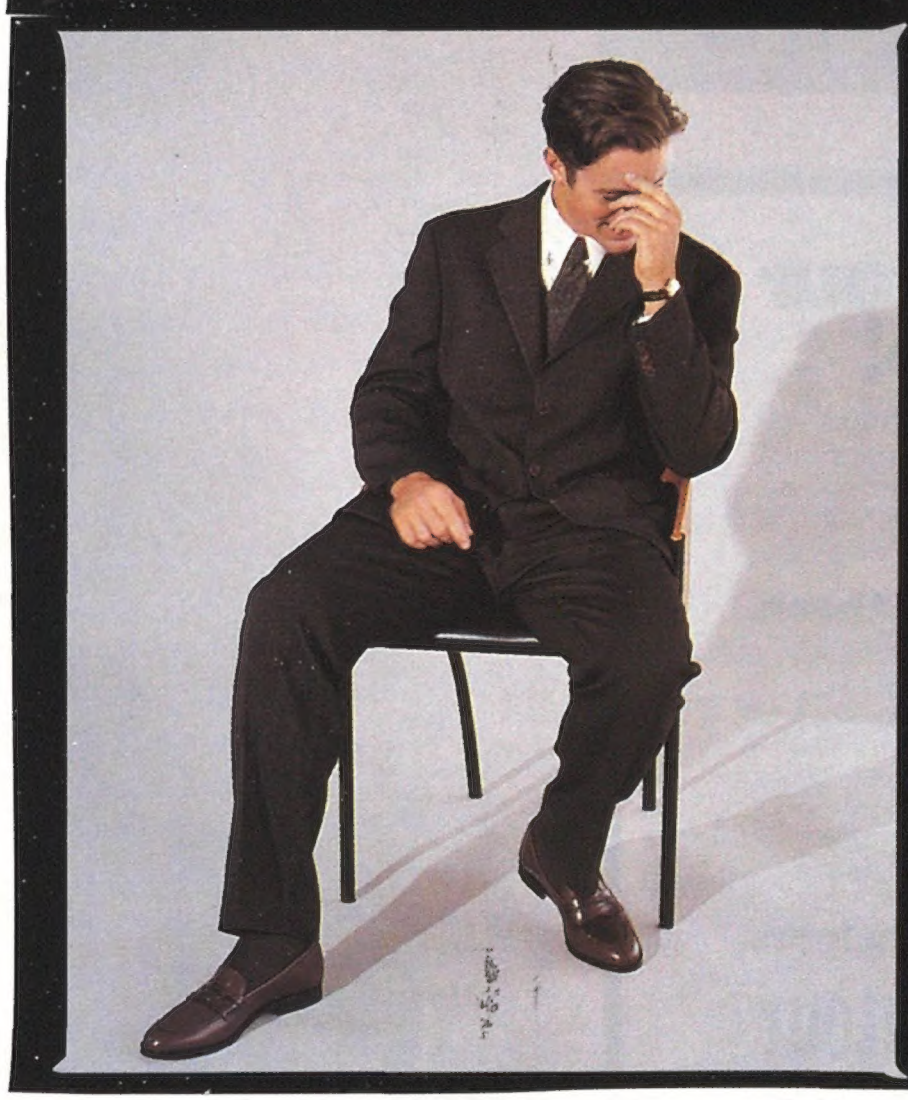

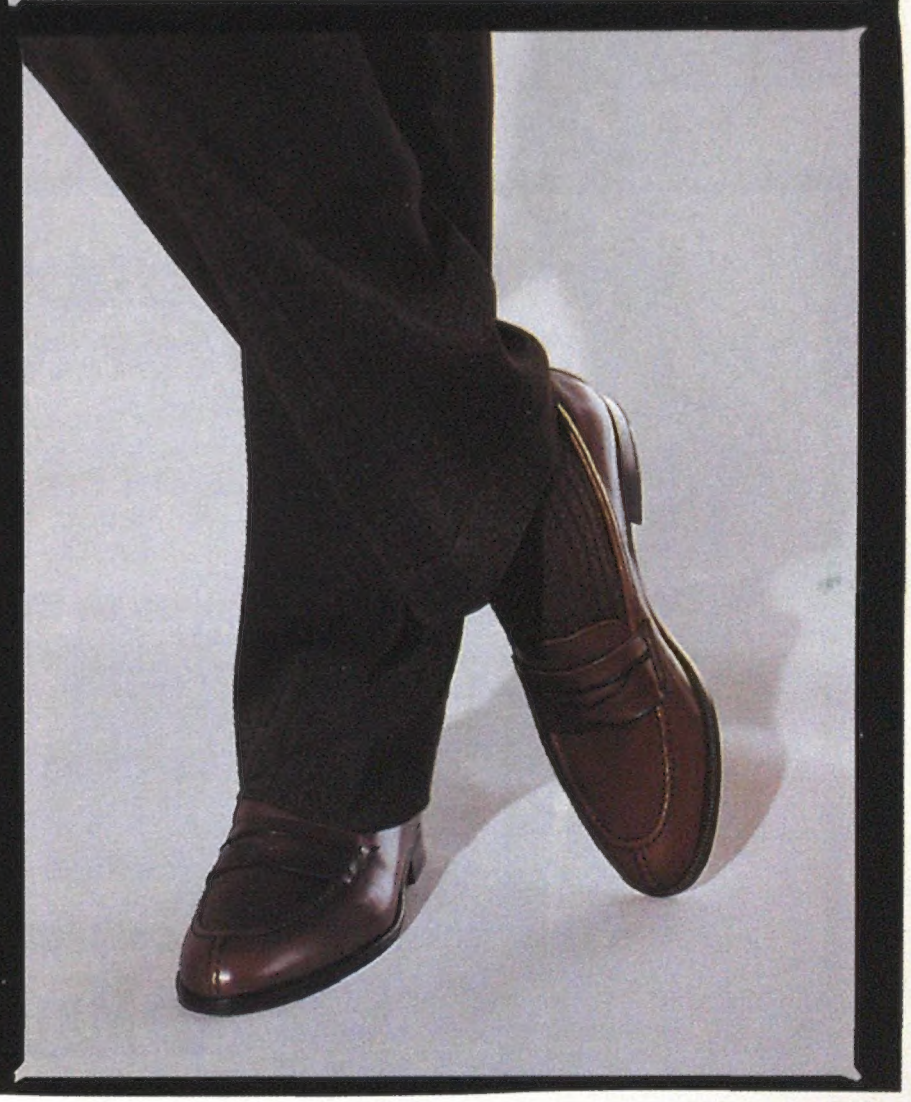

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Secretary Adams' comments

Smithsonian horizons

The Institution's newest museum reveals what the U.S. Postal Service has done to tie our nation together

The National Postal Museum is the 16th and newest of the Smithsonian's museums and galleries. Occupying spacious quarters in the splendidly refurbished Washington City Post Office Building, it opened in midsummer to the acclaim of most critics as well as visitors. Apparent ever since its opening has been an undercurrent of appreciation for the richness of the intellectual fare, coupled with a welcome for the resurrection of a majestic public setting that again does credit to our national capital.

But of more immediate interest to me is the Postal Museum as a paradigmatic example of what a number of other Smithsonian museums also are and try to do. Some few of my readers–probably very few–will have encountered our philatelic collections in their earlier manifestation. Unobtrusively tucked away in cramped space on the upper floors of the National Museum of American History, the most comprehensive and important collection of its kind in the world was an object of pilgrimage only for a small stream of aficionados.

Within such a constrained setting, attention was drawn to the stamps forming the core of the collection. Having grown accustomed to the narrowness of that field of view, it took a considerable stretch of the imagination for many of us to recognize the possibility of a rewarding, broadly informative museum. Yet thanks in large part to the Postal Service, which provided the site and underwrote construction as well as additional operating costs, that is precisely what this has become. Shedding a new and different light on our history and times, it is a heartening example of the worlds of discovery that the Smithsonian promotes and can help to keep open.

The new museum's unrivaled collections are made more easily available to the specialist than ever. But now they are also the foundation for a larger, more coherent vision. Postal service, we discover (and then begin to think we must have known all along), was early recognized as one of the sinews that could bind together not merely families and friends but a whole new nation. The ensuing efforts to open regular lines of communication with the thin fringes of outermost settlement and exploration were heroic, and they played no small part in fixing pride and attention on the westward advance of the frontiers themselves.

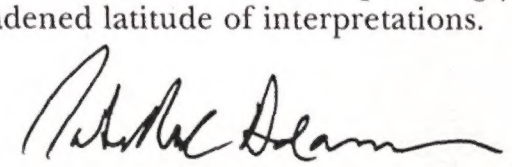
No less interesting and important were accompanying advances in technology. Successive improvements in postal transport of the past turn out to provide an excellent mirror of the periodic bursts of innovation that have given rise to the rapidly and extensively mobile society in which we live. Meanwhile, the handling of the mail is so taken for granted that it receives little attention except when we grouse about it. Now it comes into view, as it should, as a large and dedicated labor force, a tradition of service, and one of our great and most essential industries. Although largely out of public view, once again, we learn, the new technology is playing a vital part as demand changes shape while the volume of mail seems to grow inexorably.

The National Postal Museum becomes a kind of prism, in other words, in which we find the light of our previous knowledge and experience being broken up into arrestingly different sets of component colors. Categories cease to be self-evident and become tools of thought. Information is one such category on which these columns have previously touched. From an aggregated, impersonal, strictly contemporary vantage point, the electronic aspects of flows of information may be most salient. But the new Postal Museum instead reminds us of how much of the substance of daily life and interaction can be thought of as having always been information-centered. No less important, we are led to reflect that literacy–the printed rather than the spoken or televised word–is still the essential building block of civilized life.

The Postal Museum example shares these qualities of unexpected discovery with other new Smithsonian initiatives. Behind our planning for the National Museum of the American Indian is a desire to transcend the usual categories or stereotypes of Native American life and culture–to see it whole, in its own distinctive terms, the present intimately connected with the past. The National Air and Space Museum, too, induces visitors to embrace in thought the whole of humanity's incredible upward venture from Earth in the course of less than a century.

President Clinton, I am happy to report, has now signed the legislation authorizing a new extension of the Air and Space Museum at Dulles International Airport. Because of funding constraints, the opportunity to go forward with it may have to wait. But with present facilities already overcrowded, the long uncertainty has been whether we would be able to continue to offer a uniquely comprehensive view of the whole unfolding saga. Now that doubt has been erased.

Characteristically, the Smithsonian aims its exhibitions at broad and diverse audiences. These exhibitions offer new knowledge while seldom claiming unquestionable wisdom. Rather than presuming to instruct, they challenge audiences to see things in a wider context and to consider a correspondingly broadened latitude of interpretations.



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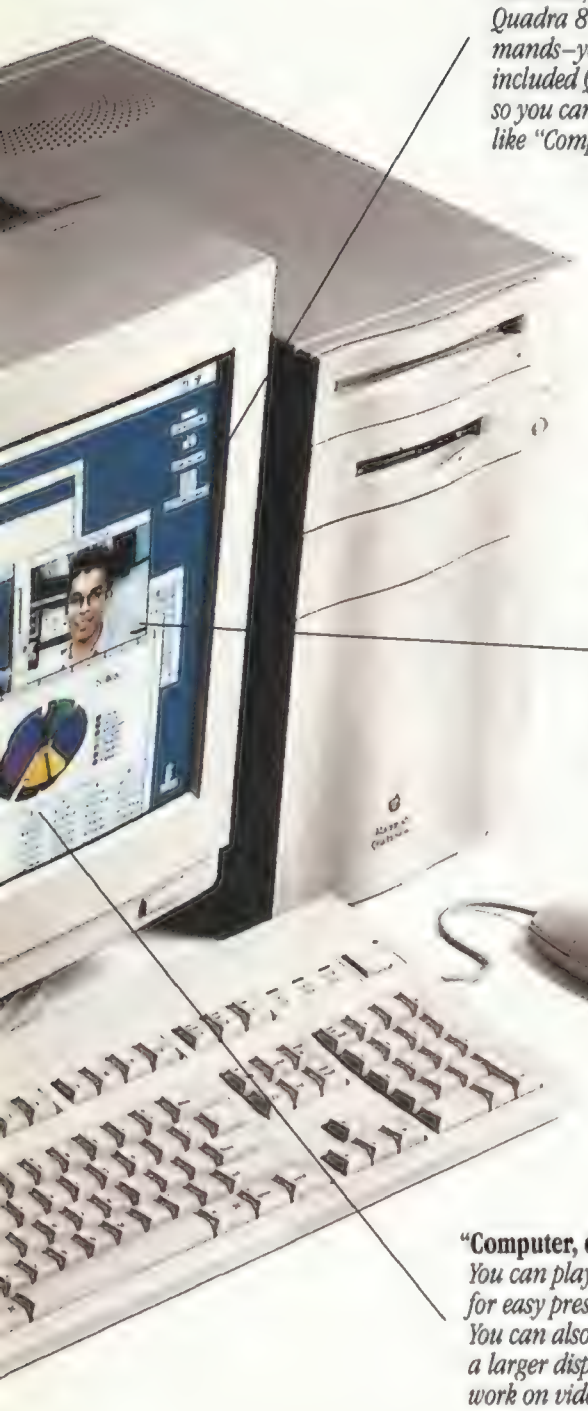

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Letters to the Editor

Oxen

Dear Sir: Your September article brought to mind the affection a great American statesman and orator had for oxen. Daniel Webster's biographer, Claude Fuess, tells that Webster had over 100 oxen housed in a mammoth barn on his farm at Marshfield, Massachusetts. Arriving there from Washington, the first thing he did was to walk out and visit his magnificent herd. On one occasion, in the company of his son Fletcher, he said, "I had rather be here than in the Senate. I think it better company."
Harrison Eldredge
Albuquerque

Dear Sir: Driving through a rural area south of Rio de Janeiro, my wife and I saw a gorgeous team of oxen pulling a plow. The Brazilian name for this breed was *boi pintado* (painted ox), and these two very large animals were resplendent in gorgeous white and red. They wore a yoke like those in your article. The farmer walked behind the single plow, holding the handles and guiding the oxen with his voice commands.

I asked to photograph his beautiful team. He invited me to do so, obviously proud of his animals. After a few pictures of oxen, plow and farmer, I thanked him. He begged me to wait a moment because he had something even better to show me. He ran over the hill, and soon returned riding the scruffiest, rustiest little tractor I have ever seen. Which, of course, I then photographed.
Robert G. Bjoring
Menlo Park, California

Dear Sir: Stuart Richey, a member of a party from Salem, Iowa, to Oregon in 1852, wrote his father from Portland: "Take your bundles on your backs rather than drive an ox team . . . bring good mule or horse teams. . . . I saw hundreds of dead cattle but only about five mules and 12 horses dead by the way."
Calvin L. Ham
Austin, Texas

Dear Sir: When my grandfather, John Sherman Peyton, was 6 years old he was bound out to work for his keep because his widowed mother couldn't afford to support him.

Grandpa was sent to a man who operated a grist mill and also farmed. The 6-year-old's bedroom was the hayloft of the barn that housed a team of oxen and other farm animals. He soon learned to work the oxen, and also found that they were warm company on cold nights. He often huddled next to one of them until he got warm enough to snuggle down in the hay and rags that made up his bed.

He delighted in the oxen; they were never cruel to him, just plodded along while he dreamed of better times. I like to think that growing up around the gentle giants led to his own gentleness and care for all living things.
Verna Forbes Willson
Farmington, New Mexico

Dear Sir: The caption on page 90 has the Romans using their oxen to pull cannon. They had quite an advantage, since the rest of Europe didn't have cannon until the 14th century.
Hank Moncure
Cedar Park, Texas
The Roman precursor of the cannon was the onager, an ox-drawn heavy catapult that hurled stones or lead balls and, notably, that enabled Julius Caesar's forces to take the besieged fortress of Avaricum from the Gauls in 52 B.C. Ed.

Dear Sir: "If it weren't for the ox we wouldn't be where we are," reads your headline. Yes, they helped build America. But in these modern-day pulling contests some oxen and horses have been hurt, being made to pull way too much weight. It may be a sport for some people, but the animals bear the brunt of it.
Charles Baldwin
Grand Rapids, Michigan

Dear Sir: About 15 years ago, I found my great-uncle Jerome Lilly, then in his 80s, looking at a U.S. commemorative stamp that showed a drover driving a team of oxen: "Just look at that stamp! The fellow who drew that picture certainly never saw an ox team!" I said the picture looked authentic to me.

"Well, then obviously you have never seen an ox team either," laughed Uncle Romey. "No one *ever* drives a team from the right side!"
Jean Balgoyne
Shelby, Michigan

Denver Art Museum

Dear Sir: Denver may be a cow town with culture, but so is Fort Worth, Texas. Granted that Denver's art collection is splendid, but Fort Worth's Southwest Exposition and Livestock Show (formerly the Fat Stock Show) will celebrate its 100th anniversary in 1996 from its home in the city's Cultural District, within walking distance of three exceptionally fine art museums: the Kimbell, Amon Carter and Modern Art. For the Sid Richardson Collection of Western Art, one must go downtown.
Jac B. Caplin
Hot Springs Village, Arkansas

Consumer Reports

Dear Sir: Doug Stewart's article brought back memories of our son Eric's toast at his brother's wedding: "Marrying Alison is the only thing Michael's ever done without first checking *Consumer Reports.*"

Which is probably still true.
Donna & JJ Smith
Upper Marlboro, Maryland

Dear Sir: Your article stated that in 1927 "brand-name products were still a fairly new idea." Some, long established by then, are still going strong: Arm & Hammer baking soda, Rumford baking powder, Ivory soap, Jell-O, Campbell's soup, Pillsbury flour, Quaker oats.
Nigel Akerman
Upperco, Maryland

Johnny Hopper

Dear Sir: Rambo nauseates me, but as I read and looked at Robert Wernick's article I felt a deep anguish and sorrow. I was deeply moved by the memories it brings up and the concerns I have for what is going on in the world today.

As that earlier form of the dark side began to appear in 1933, so it seems that another manifestation of fascism is now emerging. What form it shall take is not clear, but perhaps by remembering what came to be Johnny's struggle we shall

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choose another path, in which we unmask the dark side before it destroys 114 million of us rather than the 57 million lost in his conflagration.
Ken Hamilton
South Paris, Maine

Dear Sir: Johnny Hopper reasoned that, no matter how professional the best Gestapo killers were, he had an advantage, since there was always a moment's hesitation when they couldn't help thinking of what might happen to them, their careers and their families.

It seems Johnny had happened upon a central principle of *bushido,* the Japanese warrior code based on classical Zen. As a 17th-century samurai would have explained it, if two equally good swordsmen fought, but only one had mastered Zen–which induces in the adept an indifference to whether he lives or dies–the Zen master would win. He was not obliged to divide his attention between the job at hand–killing his opponent–and mundane concerns that are the common lot of the "uninitiated."
Frank Holan
Westminster, Vermont

Climbing plants

Dear Sir: The strangler fig, outside of dense jungle, can unwittingly complete a murder-suicide pact.

Once the host tree has been crushed to death by growing beyond the space available and has rotted away, the fig is sometimes unable to support itself in a high wind.

This happened at a Panama sugar mill where the fig, starting too high up in a lonely tree, eventually was blown over.
George W. Greenwood
Mobile, Alabama

Dear Sir: When exploring and climbing various Mayan pyramids in Central America that were overgrown by vegetation, I came across hemiepiphytes. They made my search nearly impossible. So, after battling them for some time, I found my interest changing to a study of the plants.
Janet Flower
Portland, Oregon

Roberto Clemente

Dear Sir: As a boy, I would take the streetcar to Forbes Field to see the Pirates play. Watching Clemente warm up before a game was a remarkable experience. One day I got up the courage to yell to him about a great throw. He turned to look at me and then said he had hit the wrong corner of the bag!

He was a remarkable ballplayer because he did everything so well. He was a remarkable individual because he knew his work was never done–even after he had left the baseball field.
David W. Nicholson
Pittsburgh

Dear Sir: Roberto Clemente was and is for many a hero, a saint and a humanitarian who today remains a force in the lives he came in contact with. Seeking solutions to the problems that face our children–by providing both physical and cultural opportunities for creative expression–is part of the legacy that holds Roberto in the hearts of those who met him or knew of his exceptional kindness.

Part of the lesson that Roberto Clemente left us is his belief that human beings and life itself are to be treated with integrity, that actions and deeds of greatness are blessings, and that our obligation to create a better world begins in our own homes and communities.
Pardner Hicks
Ojai, California

Around the Mall and beyond

Dear Sir: Edwards Park recalled a happy childhood memory. I was back in my grandparents' home listening to the windup phonograph: ". . . hats off to lucky, plucky Lindy, Eagle of the U.S.A."

For me the song was not "instantly forgettable," and I'm glad it is still playing in Larry Ross' Lindbergh museum.
Barbara Hunter
Menlo Park, California

My great platypus hunt. . .

Dear Sir: Along with other teachers on an outback adventure Down Under, I sat patiently staring at the water, eagerly waiting for a platypus to appear. For three days we arose at 6 A.M. and watched in vain.

Later, near Millaa Millaa Falls, we were elated when one briefly emerged. It looked like a small lump of mud with a duck's bill and a flat tail. Clearly it had no clock, for the hour was neither early morning nor evening, the times when platypuses are supposed to leave their burrows and take to the water.
Georganna Bidlack
Geneva, Ohio

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Carlton White

Carlton White
Forest Specialist

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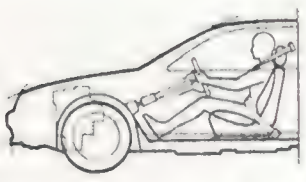

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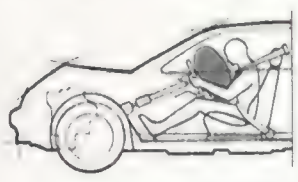

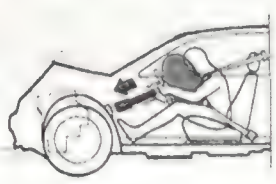

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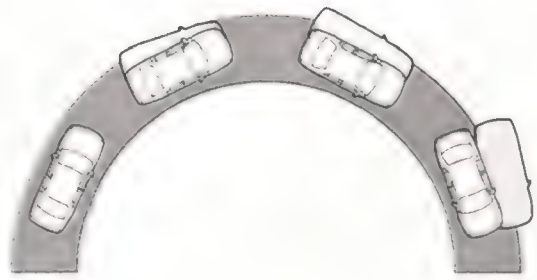

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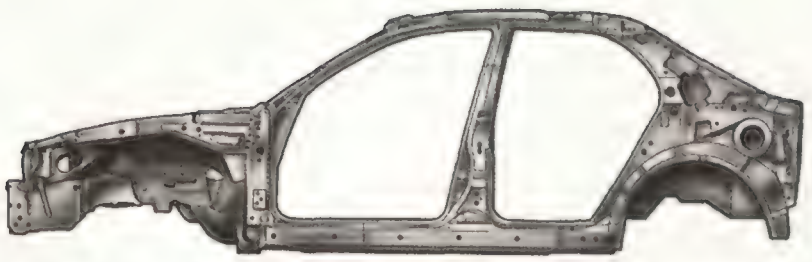

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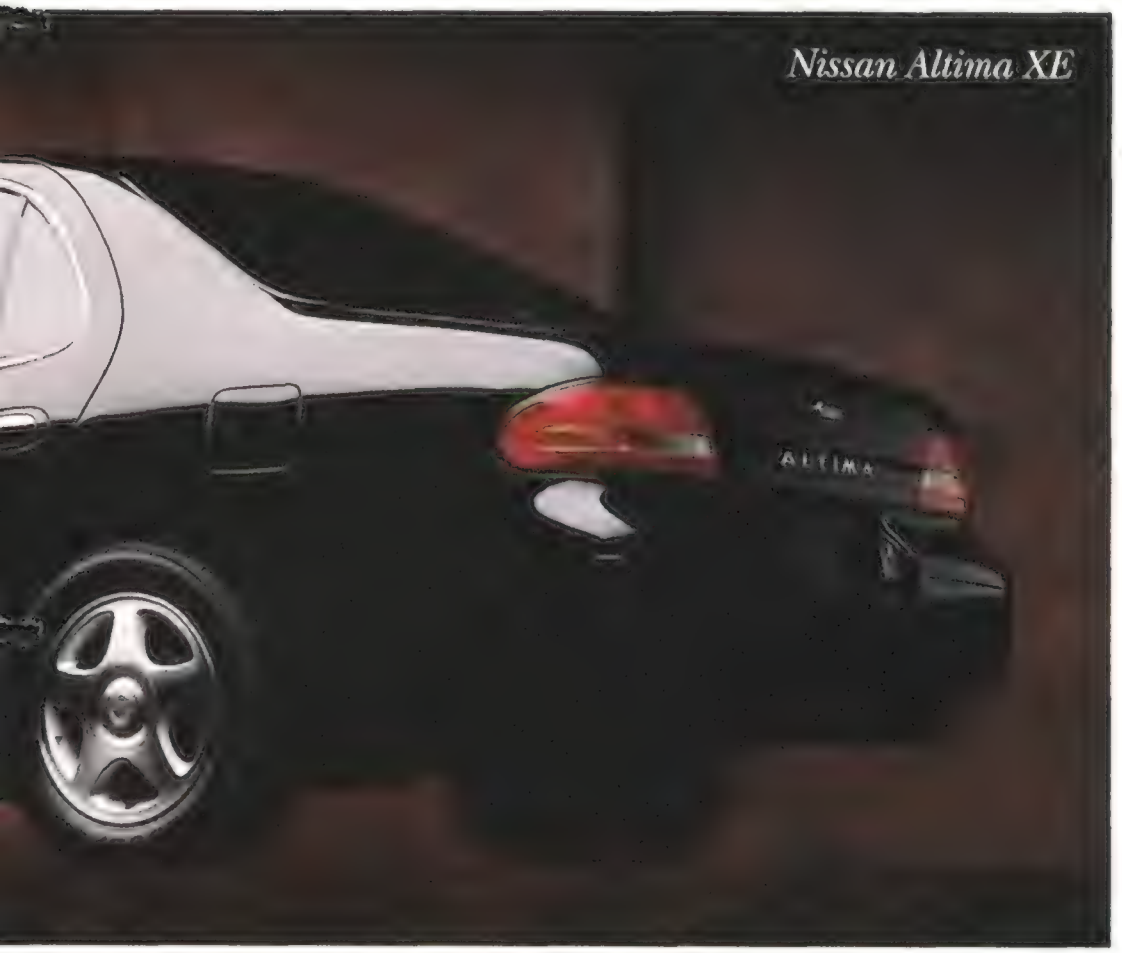

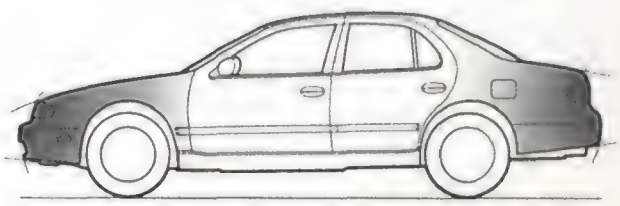

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Around the Mall and beyond

Big and bearded, Spencer Baird was totally dedicated to his science–and to making it public knowledge

There's talk of a hard winter in Washington this year, but nothing, I hope, to compare with the day of Ulysses S. Grant's Inaugural celebration in March 1873. I learned about it from the highest available authority: the second Secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, Spencer Fullerton Baird.

I don't mean I discussed weather during a séance with Baird, who died in 1887. But I did have some entertaining conversations with Ted Rivinus and Betty Youssef, the two living people who know more about this legendary figure than anyone else. Rivinus retired some years ago to become director emeritus of Smithsonian Press, and he's still busy documenting the Institution's history. Youssef is a veteran Smithsonian volunteer researcher. They've done a superb biography of Spencer Baird, a naturalist and astounding collector who established the course–a balance of scientific research and public education–that the Institution has followed since the years of his administration, 1878 to 1887.

In writing *Spencer Baird of the Smithsonian*, the authors made full use of their subject's voluminous writings–upwards of 31 feet worth. "Baird started every entry in his journal with a weather report," Ted explains. The Secretary described the day of Grant's Inaugural as being "so cold that the guests wore all the wrappings they could gather together, and they had to chop up the chicken salad with hatchets to get a chance to eat it. It was so cold that it is said the breath as it rose into the air gave the appearance of a company engaged in Smoking."

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"When Baird moved to Washington in 1850, there were slave pens between the Potomac and the Smithsonian 'Castle,'" says Ted. On the streets of the capital city, pigs scavenged freely (on garbage and slops that residents dumped there), befouled buildings and dug hog wallows in the roads. Slaughterhouses complemented the wealth of other nauseous odors.

But Baird eagerly accepted whatever Washington demanded of him while serving at the Smithsonian, a job he cherished more than anything in the world. To save money when he first came here, he walked 70 miles from his home in Carlisle, Pennsylvania, to Baltimore before boarding the "cars," as he called the train.

After being hired, he worked at least 15 hours a day at everything from maintaining his own household ("You will confer a favor by having my privies cleaned tonight," he once noted to sanitation authorities) to hand-writing as many as 5,000 business letters a year. He also engaged in a large private correspondence, kept meticulous journals and produced a stream of scientific articles. And all the while he juggled huge supervisory tasks–for the Smithsonian and its new National Museum, which he founded, for the U.S. Fish Commission, and in later years for the Bureau of American Ethnology.

He was a highly regarded administrator, although one of his projects has earned him eternal infamy among American sport fishermen. Thinking that carp would become a popular food fish in America–like it is in Europe–Baird set up carp ponds all around the Washington Monument grounds. Ted tells about how Baird then gave carp fry to Congressmen for stocking lakes in their districts. "So carp are now a damned nuisance around the country," Ted observes; "they dig up the bottom and make the water turgid."

In the process of writing their book, Rivinus and Youssef found that despite all the public service and the endless writing, Baird managed to maintain his privacy. In fact, they found "indications that he expunged selections from his journals and correspondence which he may have felt too revealing." And his only child, Lucy, diligently guarded against anything deleterious being published about him after his death.

We do know that his maternal grandmother, who had married into the prominent Biddle family of Philadelphia, impressed a stern work ethic on the young Baird. "Laziness, dear Spencer," she pronounced in one letter, "is a horrid misfortune. Never indulge it, but employ every moment in gaining something worth having or knowing." And she obviously fostered his methodical propensities, declaring in another letter that "Heroes must rise by small degrees to glory /'Tis *stairs* that lead them to the atick story."

As an adult, Baird became "self-assured, self-sufficient and totally dedicated to his goals and to assisting colleagues," observes Betty. "But he was also defensive, seldom apologized, couldn't delegate and rarely took on anything he couldn't completely control."

He was a master at obtaining cooperation from his staff, from other government agencies and from Congress, but he always avoided drawing attention to himself and he hated public speaking. In a letter offering to introduce him to Joseph Henry, his predecessor as Secre-

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tary, a friend of Baird's insisted that "you will for a time lay aside a little of your modesty, and swagger enough to make a proper impression."

Money was always a concern for Spencer Baird. Even as Assistant Secretary of the Smithsonian he helped make ends meet by moonlighting as an editor for, among other publications, *Harper's Bazaar*. And his wife, Mary, often ordered food supplies from Carlisle: "Cheaper and better than what she could get in Washington," says Ted. Amazingly, mail was speedy enough back then–one-day service between Washington and New York–that the Bairds could order fresh fish from Manhattan's Fulton Fish Market.

Whisky cost so little by the barrel in those days that "it was the principal preservative used by Baird for the shipment and storage of zoological specimens," according to the biography. Soldiers assigned to one expedition nearly became teetotalers after they discovered what was in the bottom of the casks they had been nipping from: insects, birds, crustacea, frogs and snakes.

As for Baird, his vices seemed limited to oysters, peaches and ice cream. At home with his wife and daughter he could be quite affectionate and playful, addressing Mary as "dear wifey," "my precious Polly," "dear Pollywog" and even "My own dearest Salamanerine Pollywog." She, in turn, called him "Pincher," "Whacks" and "Whacky." And he frequently invited colleagues over for supper. One wrote to his father that Baird was "always ready to keep us laughing."

But soon after settling in Washington, the authors relate, Mary Baird began suffering serious ills that "obliged her to spend many days in bed. . . . Only Spencer's presence at her bedside seemed to soothe her." Some of Mary's symptoms seem to have been caused, in part, by her loneliness; Washington was a city of transients where she had no friends of her own. She hated to interfere with Spencer's compulsion to work and with his frequent trips, but as Rivinus and Youssef write, "there were times she could not resist telling of her loneliness: 'lonesome and passed evening alone with a violent headache'; 'miss you; went upstairs and cried in loneliness.'"

As a scientist, says Rivinus, Baird was "Baconian"–keeping strict focus on the precise observation of nature. One journal entry, "Thursday. Dissecting opossum all day," typifies his empirical, cryp-

Spencer Baird loved oysters and ice cream but loathed having his picture taken.

tic style, which brought him into conflict with the famous naturalist and Smithsonian Regent Louis Agassiz, who was more interested in broad scientific generalizations derived through inductive reasoning. He dismissed what Baird did as being merely descriptive, "the lowest kind of scientific work." But Baird was too cool a hand to indulge in philosophic feuds; he quietly continued collecting and, in time, as the book states, became a collector of collectors.

Rather than go into the field himself, Baird felt it was more efficient to oversee, from Washington, teams of young men well-acquainted with the wilderness. His frequent letters encouraged them and approved their requests for supplies. The approach worked well. Between 1850 and 1861, thanks to Baird, the Smithsonian's collection of natural history specimens grew from 6,000 to 150,000 items.

Eventually, Betty recounts, some of the young naturalists came to the Smithsonian to work–and to frolic. Short on funds, they lived in the Castle and were known as the Megatherium Club. The name comes from a stuffed, slothlike animal, a megatherium, that was on display in the Great Hall. Very apt, quipped one wag, "it hangs upside down all day and only comes out at night." In 1863 one member described the group's extracurricular activities: "It is five o'clock, when the Megatherium takes its prey, that the most interesting characters of the animal are seen. Then it roars with delight and makes up for the hard work of the day by much fun and conduction. . . . We den in various rat holes about the building, in the high towers and other queer places where the air is plentiful and fresh." The writer added that their "keeper" was Professor Baird, "just about the best and most wonderful man I ever did see." The club's motto was "Never let your evening's amusements be the subject of your morning's reflections."

Several Megatherium members became eminent researchers, but as young men they did like to party. Betty recalls that some of them began raising chickens and soon ended up with too many eggs. A decision to produce egg nog resulted in rumors around the capital about a bunch of drunken scientists holed up in the Castle.

It was a time when the public was generally suspicious of scientists anyway, and Secretary Baird became concerned, as did Lucy. She was like a mother to the club and admonished the suspect members to cease all activities that might tarnish the Institution's reputation. They all greatly admired Baird and felt especially privileged to have him as a mentor. So one day they somberly presented Lucy with a basket of hens–proof that they had solved the problem of egg excess–and a promise to curtail any other kind of excess.

Ted Rivinus is currently busy with a new assignment. He's to help dig up material for a volume that will be published by Smithsonian Books in 1996 as part of the celebration of the Institution's 150th birthday.

He tells me some of the things he's already uncovered. Spencer Baird would probably be horrified at personal anecdotes about his successors being published. But maybe not. Times have changed, and here's one about Secretary Alexander Wetmore (1945-1952) I bet he'd enjoy–if he had enough oysters and ice cream in him. In fact, I can almost hear the big, bearded professor's rumbling chortles. Wetmore, like Baird, had a large build. But he was also a scientist, and he also knew the folly of feuding. One day, stuck in Washington traffic, he got tired of the driver behind him honking his horn. So the Secretary got out of his car, walked back and made a suggestion: "Tell you what. You go up there and straighten out what's holding up traffic–and I'll stay here and honk your horn for you."

Edwards Park

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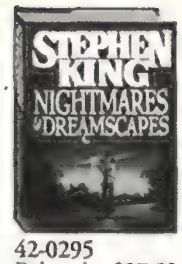

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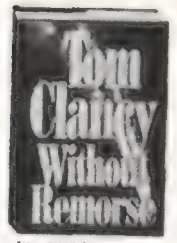

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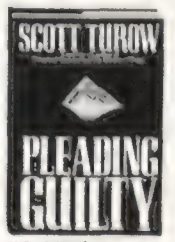

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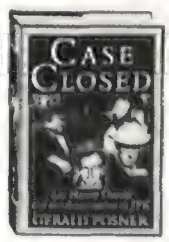

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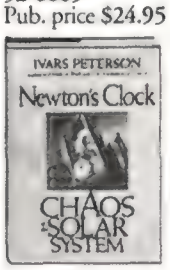

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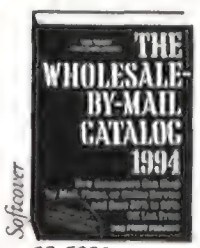

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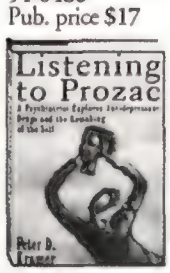

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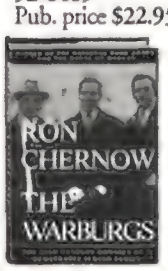

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Phenomena, comment and notes

The drive to save the Chesapeake Bay has moved up the tributaries, where local citizens are resuscitating streams

The Chesapeake Bay of song and story is in real life simply the lower Susquehanna River. It just so happens that flood conditions have prevailed there for the past 10,000 years or so, since so much ice melted that the oceans rose hundreds of feet. Even today, however, the bay is very much a creature of the rivers that feed it. Estuarine scientists call the bay the "main stem" of the Chesapeake. The rivers are not so much the branches as the roots: they reach far up into the land for water and nutrients. It is the rivers that made the bay so rich, and it is the rivers that are now killing it.

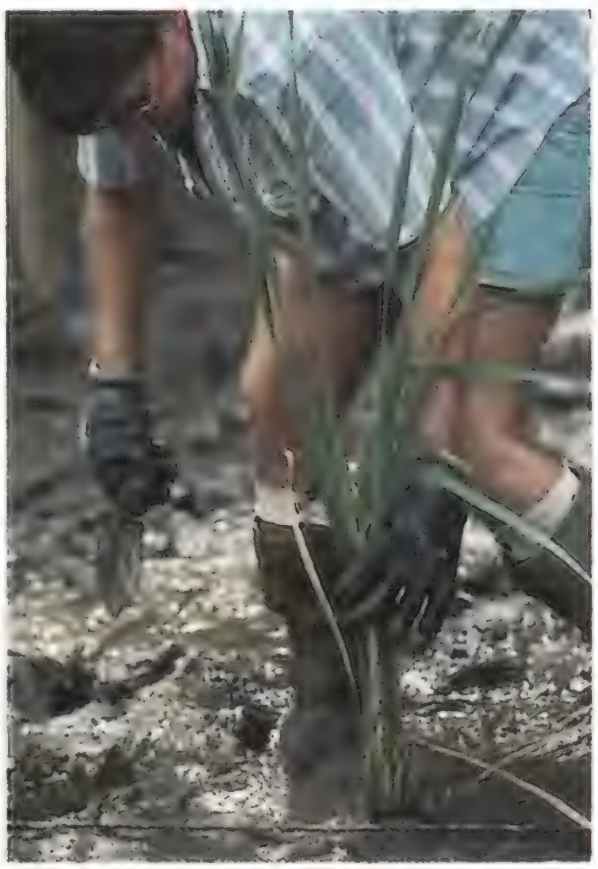
The names of those rivers are a history of the Eastern Seaboard in themselves. Besides the Susquehanna, there is the Potomac, more famous in the worlds of government and politics than as a body of water. It is the lesser-known rivers that sing: the Chickahominy, Conestoga and Lackawanna; the St. Mary's, York, Elizabeth; the Nanticoke and Elk; the Chesconessex and Conococheaque; the Pamunkey, Piankatank and Poquoson; the Sassafras, Choptank, Gunpowder and Great Wicomico; the Juniata, Manokin and Patapsco.

Today an invisible army of citizens–a frequently scruffy lot identifiable mainly by their wet feet and muddy clothes–are engaged in one of the great restoration ecology projects of our time. They intend nothing less than the transformation of the entire 64,000-square-mile watershed into some semblance of a healthy ecosystem. There are 14 million people living in the watershed, or about one for every tenth of an acre of the bay itself. But there are 28 acres of watershed for every acre of bay, and it is there that the invisible army hopes to turn things around.

People have worried about the deterioration of the bay at least since the 1970s, when Charles (Mac) Mathias, who was then one of Maryland's U.S. Senators, prevailed on the Environmental Protection Agency to make a study to see what was happening. The news was bad. In 1983 the governors of Maryland, Pennsylvania and Virginia and the mayor of the District of Columbia signed a pact to start doing what had to be done to save the bay. That meeting has been called the end of finger pointing and the start of the cleanup.

In September a ballroomful of citizen activists and government officials met in Baltimore to see how far the bay had come and to chart a course for the next ten years. The meeting started, appropriately enough, with three awards and a prolonged standing ovation for the now retired Mathias, who apologized for the dirt under his fingernails: he had been planting trees in what had been a cattle wallow on his farm.

Mathias had been right to worry in the 1970s, and by 1983 the situation had become worse. David A.C. Carroll, Secretary of the Maryland Department of the Environment, recalled that oyster reproduction was plummeting, submerged aquatic vegetation (SAV) was at an all-time low, and areas of dead (oxygenless) water in the summertime had increased dramatically. Only four water-quality monitoring stations existed on the entire bay.



A volunteer plants grasses along bank of tidal river near Washington, D.C.

The news today is still not good. The oyster harvest has dropped off the chart, partly because of disease. The tasty bivalves not only provide a living for the watermen and a treat for epicures, they perform a vital function for the bay itself. Oysters are filter feeders, straining algae and other tiny organisms from the water. In the past they processed a volume of water equal to that of the entire bay every couple of days. Now it takes them a year to filter that much.

The worst problem today, however, is excessive nutrients reaching the bay. These cause the growth explosions called algal blooms, which block sunlight from the beneficial plant life; when the algae go on to die and decay, they use up oxygen in the water. Excess nutrients also encourage the growth of epiphytes, small plants that grow on larger ones. These coat the ecologically important sea grasses like gloves, keeping the sunlight from reaching them. How much extra fertilization is excessive? Walter Boynton, director of the Chesapeake Biological Laboratory, estimated that the amount of nitrogen reaching the bay is now two to five times what it was when Captain John Smith first sailed its waters in 1607.

W. R. (Nick) Carter of the Maryland Department of Natural Resources explained what is happening, from a 400-year perspective. In 1600 the entire watershed was forested. Most nutrients stayed on the land. It is only living species, he said, that keep soil minerals and nutrients from washing downstream and coming to rest on the bottom of the ocean. Forests on the rim of the watershed still bind up the mineral richness of the land, holding about ten pounds of phosphorus, for example, on every acre. Only when an ecosystem loses its efficiency does all this wash into the bay.

Within forests, small streams percolate through the forest floor. This reduces water-temperature fluctuations. In turn, the aquatic invertebrates and microorganisms that shred and decompose leaf litter can use more of their energy for growth and reproduction. Thus begins the food chain that leads to a trout: every carbon atom in a trout came from a tree. Farther down the stream, filter feeders make use of every crumb that tumbles down the current. These

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Farm animals pose an obvious threat to water quality. But states are assisting farmers who fence streams and build storage pits for manure.

are the food chains that keep the nutrients cycling in the same area.

This is where the future of the bay lies: in streams far from the open waters downstream. The bay is creeks: Antietam and Yellow Breeches; White Deer, Mosquito, Hawksbill and Goose; Nanjemoy and Nassawadox; Occohannock, Octoraro and Onancock; Mattawoman, Mehoopany and Meshoppen; Conodoguinet and Pungoteaque.

The restoration effort began on the bay itself, upgrading sewage treatment plants, banning phosphorus detergents, and locating and eliminating major point sources of pollution. Now the focus is moving upstream, just as the hickory shad once did, adopting the tributary strategy.

"All the action is in the streams: that is where water quality is determined," said Bernard Sweeney of the Stroud Water Research Center, a field station of the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia. Instead of moving through forests, he said, streams now move through a mosaic. In forests, trees shade out any grasses that might germinate. In open land, however, the grasses grow robustly, narrowing the streams that run through them. The floating microscopic plants called phytoplankton that fuel oceanic food webs grow less well in streams: currents and the lack of sunlight in forested sections make it difficult. Instead, almost all the biological activity takes place on the bottom. And, Sweeney said, while the miles of streams remain the same, we have lost half the stream bottoms of most of those waterways. The activity that would have mopped up so much of the nutrient flow has been cut in half.

In the bay region, some creeks are called runs: Butcher and Difficult; Dragon, Deer, Oxon and Turkey; Zekiah Swamp Run and Gilbert Swamp Run; and Bull Run. Others are called branches, such as the Muddy and Little Paint.

Large-scale changes are happening along these waterways. Farmers, especially in Pennsylvania, are changing their practices not only to keep manure out of streams but to better manage their fertilization methods so less excess washes into those same streams. Local governments are improving their stormwater-control engineering. The science is getting better and better. Now there are 49 water-quality stations on the bay itself and another 110 in tributaries.

Some of the news is good. Submerged aquatic vegetation now covers 70,000 acres of bay bottom, a 75 percent increase since the low point in 1984. The striped bass are recovering strongly after a moratorium on catching them. In other areas the news is not encouraging. Oysters are still on the ropes. Even if they were ready to recover, sediment now blankets the hard substrates they need to grow on. Biologists are worried about the blue crabs, the bay's other claim to gustatory fame. Watermen are working longer than ever, yet the catch is declining. We don't know why.

In a general way, though, we do know what to do. Greenways along major streams are one solution. They offer recreation and also act as buffer zones, keeping 50 to 90 percent of what is running off the land from reaching the stream. But they are not enough. Donald Outen, a Baltimore County employee, pointed out that a 2.25-mile greenway had recently been established there along Norris Run. The protection did not extend upstream, however, to the 11 miles of smaller streams that feed into the protected zone.

In the end, it is the smallest of the streams, the capillaries, that will make the difference. Louis E. Sage is president of the Alliance for the Chesapeake Bay, which organized the conference. He pointed out that of the 100,000 miles of streams in the watershed, fully 85,000 miles are unnamed and do not appear on maps. These are the little brooks a person can step across. And these are where the bay can be saved.

From Cooperstown, New York, to Middletown, Delaware; from Seneca Rocks, West Virgina, to Frostburg, Maryland, Altoona, Pennsylvania, and Clifton Forge, Virginia, citizens are taking the future into their own hands. They are cleaning out the trash and monitoring water quality. They are planting trees along banks and connecting greenways. Barbara Taylor of Maryland's Save Our Streams, for example, said that in 1992 she had 4,400 volunteers at work along 8,000 miles of streams.

More is at stake than the bay itself. For one thing, people around the country and the world are watching to see if such an effort can succeed. On a deeper level, the fight to save the bay really requires a change in our worldview. Most eloquent on this subject were Tom Horton, author of *Turning the Tide*, a guide to saving the bay, and Gerald Winegrad, a Maryland state senator. Sounding more like conservation pioneer Aldo Leopold than a legislator, Winegrad said we must exchange a land-abuse mentality for a land ethic, and convert individuals and society from a consumer ethic to a conservation ethic. He quoted a favorite 16th-century English proverb: "The law punishes the thief who steals the goose from the commons, but the greater thief the law lets loose, who steals the commons from the goose."

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The object at hand

Miniature face jugs from NMAH collection typify the stoneware of the Edgefield potters; largest is six inches high. Were they toys–or something more sinister?

A striking range of skills is shown in the 19th-century pottery made by slave artisans in South Carolina

The faces on these jugs are ferocious. They express shouts of rage. The eyes are frontally sited but are set wide to achieve a forbidding stare. With their huge bared white teeth and bulging white eyeballs, their silent mocking howl of protest, they should have given nightmares to any slave owner with his wits about him.

The fierce expression is no accident. The jugs were almost certainly made by slaves in Edgefield, South Carolina.

Looking over the samples at the National Museum of American History, one is struck by the potters' range of skills. A few faces seem to be wonderfully mocking caricatures, perhaps picking up the salient features of some hated master. Here and there, you find a nose that appears to be a definite portrait nose.

Some are as graceful as a Brancusi bust with its lovely arched eyebrows. And some are crudely misshapen, as if done by a child. Some, as ceramic historian Stephen Ferrell puts it, "are just one step up from pinch-pots." You can see the finger marks where the eyeholes were punched in.

Ferrell is a master potter who lives in Edgefield. He has a major collection of these jugs and has been studying them for 25 years. Many more are displayed at the McKissick Museum in Columbia, South Carolina, and of course at the Edgefield County Museum in western South Carolina, as well as at several private museums and homes.

As early as 1815 there were 22 ceramic factories around Edgefield, and today archaeologists are swarming over the area searching for the vital fragments–a peculiar jug handle, an oddly designed lip–that are the signatures of various African-American potters. So far, the work of some 40 slave craftsmen has been identified, and investigators have predicted that eventually the work of more than 150 African-American potters will be distinguishable.

It seems most likely that the pots are the product of slave artisans, though at one time or another ceramic historians likened these face pots to pots of ancient Egypt, Greece, Mexico, even Korea. It is natural, after all, for a potter making a round head-size jug to think of giving it eyes, ears and a nose.

Recent evidence clearly links Edgefield with a specific group of Kikongo-speaking people from central Africa, brought here in 1858 on the slave ship *Wanderer*, one of the last such cargoes. These kidnap victims were landed at Jekyll Island, Georgia, and brought by steamboat up the Savannah River. Many were then sold to Edgefield planters. Among them was a slave named Romeo, a name which later turns up on pottery factory rosters.

A slaveholder, one Abner Landrum, opened the first Edgefield district pottery between 1810 and 1820, and, as a contemporary wrote, "The village is altogether supported by the manufacture of stoneware, carried on by this gentleman." Landrum products, it was claimed, were "much stronger, better and cheaper than any European or American ware of the same kind."

Landrum passed ownership to relatives, and other entrepreneurs moved in, seeing a good thing in the local, clay-rich soil. Soon Edgefield and Aiken counties were dotted with factories turning out high-fire stoneware pots to store everything from salted meat to lard, and for carrying water. Using wood ash, sand and cinders, the Edgefield potters–there may have been as many as 140 in the period from the 1820s until the 1860s–developed the trademark alkaline glaze, ranging in color from tan to olive to deep dark brown, a glaze then unknown in Europe.

Slave artisans were sought after from the earliest days by the Edgefield district potteries. Slave-sale notices show that a skilled turner, or operator of the kick-turned potting wheel, brought big money on the slave market.

In Africa, the production of utilitarian pottery was mostly women's work. Pots were built by piling up layers of clay coils. But around Edgefield it became men's work, in part because Edgefield pots were thrown on a heavy foot-operated wheel. This meant that great hunks of clay often had to be kneaded to remove air bubbles and then manhandled onto the wheel. The pots were not earthenware, baked in an open fire, but much harder clay vitrified at 2,200 degrees F in the controlled firestorm of a kiln.

Probably the most famous slave potter

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was the man now known variously as Dave, Dave Pottery and Dave of the Hive, whom Landrum taught to read and write. For a time Dave worked as a typesetter on Landrum's local newspaper, *The Hive*, but in 1831 he was sold or given to another pottery maker, Lewis Miles. From November 1834 through March 1863, when presumably the remarkable Dave died at age 83, he steadily turned out pots.

Big pots. Forty-gallon pots two feet high. Pots a child could hide in. Superb high-shouldered storage pots so massive they had to be made in sections, with a helper on the wheel. And on his creations–there are 50 we know of–Dave inscribed his name, the date, sometimes the name of his collaborator, a person called Baddler, and occasionally, most famously, verses that offer tantalizing hints about his own personality:

"Dave belongs to Mr. Miles / Where the oven bakes and the pot biles". . . "Great and Noble Jar/Hold Sheep, Goat and Bear". . ."This noble jar will hold 20/fill it with silver then you will have plenty". . ."I saw a leppard & a lion's face/then I felt the need of grace."

The scrawled handwriting, literally a message from the past, makes these pots more moving than a pot has any right to be. Today some of Dave's pots sell for upwards of $25,000.

But as far as anyone knows, Dave made no face jugs. Scholars have traced some face jug craftsmen: one named Jim Lee, and the anonymous Master of the Davies Pottery, Master of the Extended Eyebrows and Master of the Diagonal Teeth, a potter who indicated teeth simply with diagonal strokes in a grimacing mouth of white.

Most potters used native Carolina kaolin–the fine white clay that gives porcelain its sleek vitrine strength–to make eyeballs and teeth for the faces. This alone indicates technical sophistication, for kaolin shrinks in firing at a different rate than other clay and would fall out unless subtly wedged in place. There is no precedent in European pottery for these white kaolin inserts, but West African potters and woodcarvers have for centuries inserted cowrie shells as well as mirrors and bits of brass into their figurines.

What were the face jugs used for? Apparently many of them did duty as water jugs for field hands. They were called "monkey jugs," after an old slang expression for thirst. The *Oxford English Dictionary* connects "monkey" with water jugs as early as 1834. "To suck the monkey" is an old phrase meaning to drink straight from the bottle.

There is a puzzle here. Often the face jugs came in miniature, only four or five inches tall, some as small as a baseball. Were they toys? Or end-of-the-day whimsies thrown on the wheel by accomplished apprentices? In any case, miniature pots were brought along by slaves escaping on the Underground Railroad during the Civil War, ending up as far away as Tennessee and Ohio, Pennsylvania and upstate New York.

Some experts suggest that these miniatures were charms, like hex dolls, containing magic potions, made to bring down "bad mojo" (misfortune) on the head of the person they mocked. They have even been called voodoo pots. Whether this is so or not, some seem sinister indeed.

The power and energy that all but glow from these small heads cannot be taken lightly. Charms they may not have been; charming they are not. Instead, the Edgefield face jugs glare at us from their shelf, daring us to remember the bitter times from which they grew.

Michael Kernan

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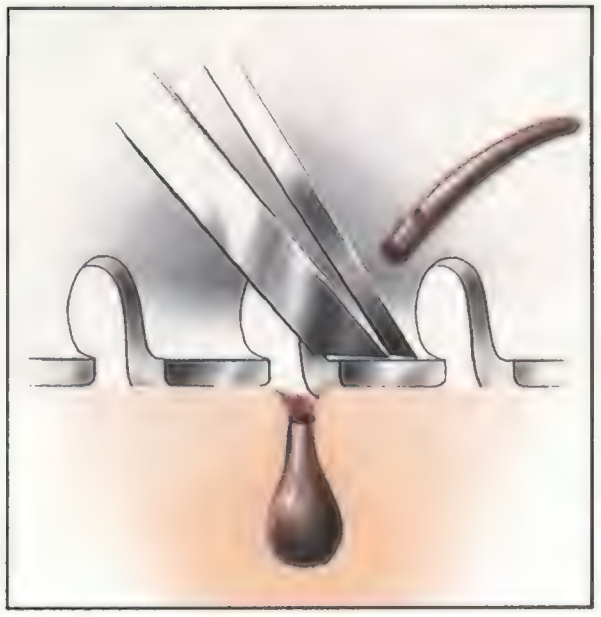

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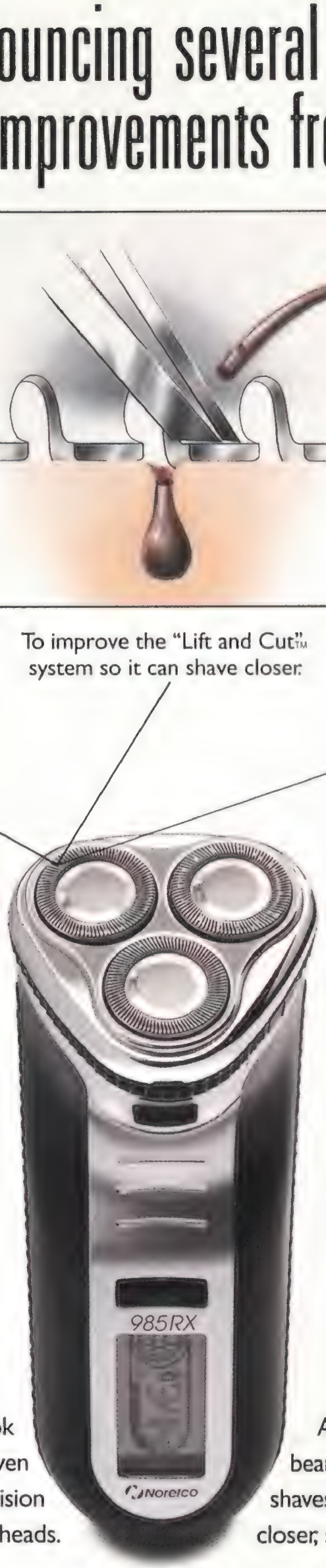

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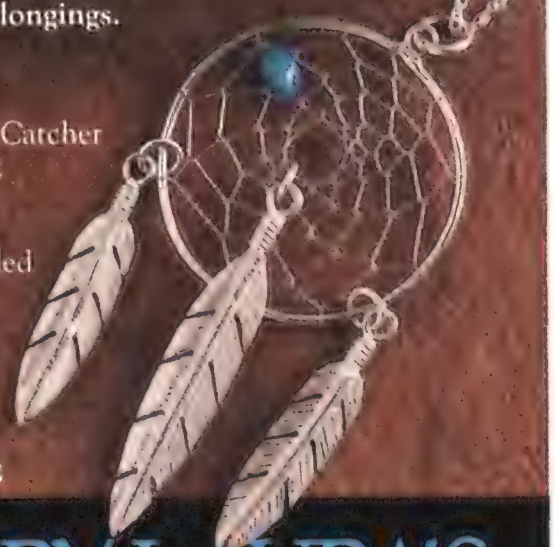

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Smithsonian highlights

Planning a Smithsonian visit?

Receive a special free Associates' Planning Packet. Write Smithsonian Information, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560, or call (202) 357-2700, Monday-Saturday, 9 A.M. to 4 P.M.; for callers with communication impairments, TTY: (202) 357-1729. *Note:* Parking near Smithsonian museums is limited. Members are encouraged to use the convenient Metrorail subway system, with parking available at some stations (details in packet).

Begin your visit at the Smithsonian Information Center's Associates' Reception Desk–open 9 A.M. to 4 P.M., daily–in the "Castle." The Court dining room, located in the National Museum of Natural History, offers buffet service daily from 11 A.M. to 3 P.M.

Most Smithsonian museums are open from 10 A.M. to 5:30 P.M. daily, except December 25. Hours at the National Zoo are 9 A.M. to 4:30 P.M. daily for buildings, and 8 A.M. to 6 P.M. for grounds.

National American Indian Heritage Month

The Smithsonian is celebrating National American Indian Heritage Month in November with a variety of programs. For information call (202) 357-2700 from 9 A.M. to 4 P.M., Monday-Saturday. For 24-hour recording call (202) 357-4574, beginning November 1.

Special November exhibits, events

National Museum of American Art

Jacob Kainen (through January 2, 1994) Major retrospective of one of America's foremost colorists. See *Highlights continued*, page 42.

The Arvin Gottlieb Collection: Paintings from the American Southwest (through

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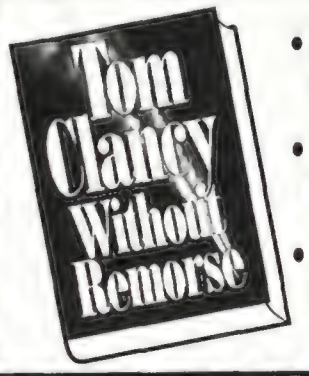

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March 20, 1994) Show features most of the major painters who worked in New Mexico between 1900 and 1940.
Pueblo Indian Watercolors (through November 29) Exhibit of 43 works dating from 1917 through the 1940s.

Renwick Gallery
The Arts and Crafts Movement in California: Living the Good Life (through January 9, 1994) Exhibition showcases the contribution of California artists to the Arts and Crafts movement in the United States from 1895 to 1930.

National Portrait Gallery
VanDerZee Photographer (1886-1983) (through February 13, 1994) Retrospective looks at the 80-year career of the Harlem photographer, known for his vivid interpretations of middle- and upper-class African-Americans.
20th-Century Self-Portraits from the National Portrait Gallery Collection (through February 13, 1994) Show includes works by such noted American artists as Milton Avery and George Bellows.

Hirshhorn Museum & Sculpture Garden
Directions–Glenn Ligon: To Disembark (November 11-February 20, 1994) Recent mixed-media works by the African-American conceptual artist focus on issues of sexual and racial identity.
Willem de Kooning from the Hirshhorn Museum Collection (through January 9, 1994) Paintings, drawings, sculptures, from 1939-1945 by the Dutch-born American pioneer of Abstract Expressionism.

Self-Portrait with Rita by Thomas Hart Benton, at NPG's "Twentieth-Century Self-Portraits" show, dates from 1922.

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National Air and Space Museum
Monitoring Amazonia from Space (through March 30, 1994) How modern satellite technology is being used to monitor the development and degradation of Amazonia's complex ecosystem.
Universe of Illusions (runs indefinitely) New Einstein Planetarium show takes a look at some of the mysteries in the history of space exploration.
Where Next, Columbus? (runs indefinitely) New gallery looks ahead to the next 500 years of exploration.

National Museum of American History
Trinkets to Treasure: Souvenirs from the 1893 and 1992 World's Fairs (November 2-May 15, 1994) Showcase exhibition compares and contrasts Chicago's 1893 fair with Spain's Expo '92.
Buffalo Soldiers: African-Americans in the 9th and 10th Cavalry Regiments (November 16-May 29, 1994) Exhibit honors the black soldiers who served in the post-Civil War Army on the Western frontier.
American Encounters Permanent exhibition focuses on the American Indian, Hispanic and Anglo-American cultures of New Mexico's Upper Rio Grande Valley.

National Postal Museum
The Smithsonian's newest museum, located next to Union Station on Capitol Hill, presents exhibitions tracing the colorful history of the nation's mail service–from the Colonial Post and the Pony Express, to the art of letter writing and the beauty and lore of stamps (see *Smithsonian horizons,* page 8).

National Museum of Natural History
Chiefly Feasts: The Enduring Kwakiutl Potlatch (through March 6, 1994) Show organized by the American Museum of Natural History presents the art and culture of one of the important Northwest Coast Native American ceremonies.
O. Orkin Insect Zoo The newly renovated insect zoo features various insect habitats–mangrove, desert, walk-through rain forest–a look at insects in your home, and an African termite mound.

National Zoological Park
Amazonia New permanent installation re-creates a microcosm of the world's largest rain forest and river habitat and explores the wonders of this richly diverse ecosystem.

Freer Gallery of Art
America Meets Asia Newly renovated and reinstalled galleries feature Asian and 19th- and early 20th-century American art, including an important collection of works by James McNeill Whistler.
Luxury Arts of the Silk Route Empires (runs indefinitely) Adjoining galleries showcase objects from the Freer and Sackler collections tracing the cultural interchange along the Silk Route.

Carved image of Born-to-Be-Head-of-the-World stares out from Kwakiutl bullhead mask used in potlatch ceremony. Mask is in NMNH's "Chiefly Feasts."

Arthur M. Sackler Gallery
Contemporary Porcelain from Japan: 30 Works by 30 Masters (November 24-April 3, 1994) Innovative and varied porcelain vessels, recently donated to the Sackler by the Japan Foundation.
Joined Colors: Decoration and Meaning in Chinese Porcelain (through November 28) Exhibition of 15th- through 19th-century polychrome porcelains focuses on their significance as bearers of auspicious images and emblematic colors.

National Museum of African Art
Dreaming the Other World (through November 30) Exhibit examines the belief of the Baule peoples of central Côte d'Ivoire in mirror-image, or "Other World," mates.
Astonishment and Power: Kongo Minkisi and the Art of Renée Stout (through January 2, 1994) Exploration of both the *minkisi* tradition of the Kongo peoples of central Africa and the contemporary art of Renée Stout.

Arts and Industries Building, Experimental Gallery
Dress Codes: Urban Folk Fashions (through January 30, 1994) Organized by the Craft and Folk Art Museum of Los Angeles, exhibition looks at the ways in which textiles are carriers and communicators of individual and collective values in contemporary U.S. society.

International Gallery, S. Dillon Ripley Center
The Power of Maps (November 9-January 23, 1994) Organized by the Cooper-Hewitt Museum, exhibit of more than 300 historical and contemporary maps examines their significance as instruments of communication, persuasion and authority (SMITHSONIAN, February 1993).

Cooper-Hewitt Museum (New York)
Walter Crane: Design for Children (November 2-February 13, 1994) The art of English book illustrator Walter Crane, best known for his whimsical depictions in popular children's fairy tales.
Mechanical Brides: Women and Machines, from Home to Office (through January 2, 1994) The changing forms and meanings of domestic appliances and office equipment and a celebration of the efforts of the women who have used them.

Exhibition catalogs

Catalogs available currently include:
Jacob Kainen ($24.95)
The Arts and Crafts Movement in California ($55/$35 paper)
VanDerZee Photographer, 1886-1983 ($39.95)
Chiefly Feasts: The Enduring Kwakiutl Potlatch ($60/$29.95 paper)

To order, send check or money order to Smithsonian Museum Shops, 8308 Cinder

Your symptoms are bothering you, but you're still waiting to see your doctor about your enlarged prostate. Maybe it's time to stop waiting.

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(FINASTERIDE)

Finally, a medicine for the treatment of symptomatic benign prostate enlargement

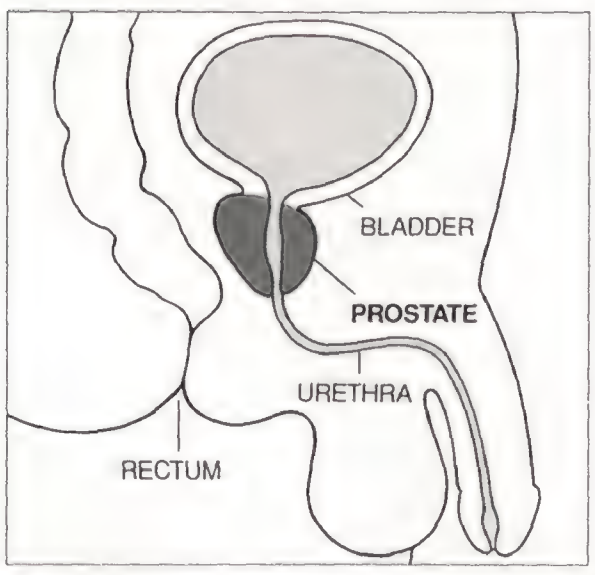
You can't make it till halftime anymore without having to go to the bathroom. You're getting up several times a night to urinate. It's beginning to bother you, but up to now, you've lived with it. The question is, should you?

Until recently, there wasn't a medicine that could help the condition known as symptomatic benign prostate enlargement or BPH. But now there is PROSCAR, the first oral prescription medicine that can actually shrink an enlarged prostate.

However, it is important to know the following: PROSCAR doesn't work for everyone. Even though the prostate shrinks, you may not see an improvement in urinary flow or symptoms. And you may need to take PROSCAR for 6 months or more to see whether it helps you.

How PROSCAR can shrink an enlarged prostate

As a man ages, a key hormone can help cause the prostate to grow.



The prostate surrounds part of the urethra, the tube that carries urine from the bladder. As the prostate enlarges, it can squeeze the urethra and cause urinary problems.

PROSCAR actually blocks the production of this hormone, so it helps shrink the prostate to a smaller size in many men. As a result, some men treated with PROSCAR experience an increased urinary flow and an improvement in urinary symptoms.

Why you should see your doctor soon

The problem will probably not get better by itself. In many cases, the prostate continues to enlarge and the symptoms may get worse. So if your urinary symptoms are bothering you, consult your family doctor or a urologist and find out if PROSCAR is an appropriate treatment for you. It is also important to have regular checkups. *While benign prostate enlargement is not cancer and does not lead to cancer, the two conditions can exist at the same time.*

Remember, only a doctor can evaluate your symptoms and their possible causes. So don't wait any longer. You may find out that your enlarged prostate can be made into a smaller problem.

For a free, informative booklet, "Every man should know about his prostate," call 1-800-635-4452 today.

TABLETS

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PATIENT INFORMATION ABOUT PROSCAR® (Prahs-car)
Generic name: finasteride (fin-AS-tur-eyed)

PROSCAR is for the treatment of symptomatic benign prostatic hyperplasia and for use by men only.

Your doctor may prescribe PROSCAR if you have a medical condition called benign prostatic hyperplasia or BPH. This occurs only in men.

Please read this information, as well as the leaflet which accompanies your medication, before you start taking PROSCAR. Also, read the leaflet each time you renew your prescription, just in case anything has changed. Remember, this leaflet does not take the place of careful discussions with your doctor. You and your doctor should discuss PROSCAR when you start taking your medication and at regular checkups.

What is BPH?

BPH is an enlargement of the prostate gland. After age 50, most men develop enlarged prostates. The prostate is located below the bladder. As the prostate enlarges, it may slowly restrict the flow of urine. This can lead to symptoms such as:

- a weak or interrupted urinary stream
- a feeling that you cannot empty your bladder completely
- a feeling of delay or hesitation when you start to urinate
- a need to urinate often, especially at night
- a feeling that you must urinate right away.

Treatment options for BPH

There are three main treatment options for BPH:

- **Program of monitoring or "Watchful Waiting".** If a man has an enlarged prostate gland and no symptoms or if his symptoms do not bother him, he and his doctor may decide on a program of monitoring which would include regular checkups, instead of medication or surgery.
- **Medication.** Your doctor may prescribe PROSCAR for BPH. See **"What PROSCAR does"** below.
- **Surgery.** Some patients may need surgery. Your doctor can describe several different surgical procedures for BPH. Which procedure is best depends on your symptoms and medical condition.

What PROSCAR does

PROSCAR lowers levels of a key hormone called DHT (dihydrotestosterone), which is a major cause of prostate growth. Lowering DHT leads to shrinkage of the enlarged prostate gland in most men. This can lead to gradual improvement in urine flow and symptoms over the next several months. However, since each case of BPH is different, you should know that:

- Even though the prostate shrinks, you may NOT see an improvement in urine flow or symptoms.
- You may need to take PROSCAR for six (6) months or more to see whether it helps you.
- Even though you take PROSCAR and it may help you, it is not known whether PROSCAR reduces the need for surgery.

What you need to know while taking PROSCAR

- **You must see your doctor regularly.** While taking PROSCAR, you must have regular checkups. Follow your doctor's advice about when to have these checkups.
- **About side effects.** Like all prescription drugs, PROSCAR may cause side effects. Side effects due to PROSCAR may include impotence (or inability to have an erection) and less desire for sex. Each of these side effects occurred in less than 4% of patients in clinical studies. In some cases side effects went away while the patient continued to take PROSCAR.

Some men taking PROSCAR® (Finasteride) may have a decrease in the amount of semen released during sex. This decrease does not appear to interfere with normal sexual function.

You should discuss side effects with your doctor before taking PROSCAR and anytime you think you are having a side effect.

- **Checking for prostate cancer.** Your doctor has prescribed PROSCAR for symptomatic BPH and not for cancer—but a man can have BPH and prostate cancer at the same time. Doctors usually recommend that men be checked for prostate cancer once a year when they turn 50 (or 40 if a family member has had prostate cancer). These checks should continue while you take PROSCAR. PROSCAR is not a treatment for prostate cancer.
- **About prostate specific antigen (PSA).** Your doctor may have done a blood test called PSA. PROSCAR can alter PSA values. For more information, talk to your doctor.
- **A warning about PROSCAR and pregnancy.**

PROSCAR is for use by MEN only.

PROSCAR is generally well tolerated in men. However, women who are pregnant, or women who could become pregnant, should avoid the active ingredient in PROSCAR.

If the active ingredient is absorbed by a woman who is pregnant with a male baby, it may cause the male baby to be born with abnormalities of the sex organs. Therefore, any woman who is pregnant or who could become pregnant must not come into direct contact with the active ingredient in PROSCAR.

Two of the ways in which a woman might absorb the active ingredient in PROSCAR are:

Sexual contact. Your semen may contain a small amount of the active ingredient of the drug. If your partner is pregnant, or if you and your partner decide to have a baby, you must stop taking PROSCAR and talk to your doctor. If your partner could become pregnant, proper use of a condom can reduce the risk of exposing her to your semen (discuss this further with your doctor).

Handling broken tablets. Women who are pregnant or who could become pregnant must not handle broken tablets of PROSCAR.

PROSCAR tablets are coated to prevent contact with the active ingredient during normal handling. If this coating is broken, the tablets should not be handled by women who are pregnant or who could become pregnant.

If a woman who is pregnant comes into contact with the active ingredient in PROSCAR, a doctor should be consulted. Remember, these warnings apply only if the woman exposed to PROSCAR is pregnant or could become pregnant.

How to take PROSCAR

Follow your doctor's advice about how to take PROSCAR. You must take it every day. You may take it with or between meals. To avoid forgetting to take PROSCAR, it may be helpful to take it the same time every day.

Do not share PROSCAR with anyone else; it was prescribed only for you.

Keep PROSCAR and all medicines out of the reach of children.

FOR MORE INFORMATION ABOUT PROSCAR AND BPH, TALK WITH YOUR DOCTOR. IN ADDITION, TALK TO YOUR PHARMACIST OR OTHER HEALTH CARE PROVIDER.

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Smithsonian on the air

Folk Masters 1993 Radio Smithsonian series presents an all-new season of performances by virtuosos of New World folk music. Programs this month include Irish-American song and Croatian tamburitza. Check local public radio listings. For a free copy of the companion *Listener's Guide*, write: Office of Telecommunications, Smithsonian Institution, National Museum of American History, Room BB40, Washington, D.C. 20560.

Smithsonian National Associates

The National Associates Program, U.S. and International Events comes to Hilton Head, South Carolina, November 4-7. Highlights of the program include lectures on modern sculpture, the solar system and tropical rain forests.

Associates in the Hilton Head area will receive invitational brochures. For information, contact: U.S. and International Events, 490 L'Enfant Plaza, S.W., Suite 4210, Washington, D.C. 20560; (202) 287-3210.

Resident Associate Program

To become a Resident Associate, or for fee and ticket information, call (202) 357-3030. November events include:
In My Place: An Evening with Charlayne Hunter-Gault (November 15; 7 P.M.) Award-winning journalist Hunter-Gault talks about her new autobiography.
Allan Houser: Renewal Through the Integrity of Tradition (November 15; 8 P.M.) Lecture by the Native American artist.

Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service

SITES organizes and circulates exhibitions to cities throughout the United States and abroad. To sponsor a show in your community, write SITES, Smithsonian, Washington, D.C. 20560. Here are some November exhibits:

- Colorado Springs, Colorado (November 6-December 5) *Steichen and His Men: A Photographic Portrait of World War II*, Colorado Springs Pioneers Museum.
- Winston-Salem, North Carolina (November 27-January 23, 1994) *Harlem Photographs by Aaron Siskind from the National Museum of American Art*, Winston-Salem State University.

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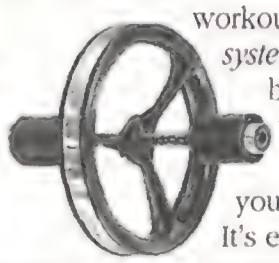

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Highlights continued

An artist who did it his way

"I didn't follow anyone," commented Washington artist Jacob Kainen, amid the profusion of luminous canvases that track his 60-year career as a dedicated and tenaciously independent painter.

"Jacob Kainen," a retrospective organized by the National Museum of American Art, presents a diverse and accomplished body of work–from expressive cityscapes to evocative abstractions. On view at NMAA through January 2, 1994, the show recognizes the significance of Kainen's contribution to American art.

A singular poet of form and color, Kainen was "one of the major players in the development of abstract art in the United States," according to guest curator Walter Hopps. "He never shaped his work in terms of critical response–he kept going his own way."

Energetic and committed, Kainen was at once a painter, printmaker, writer, curator, teacher, collector and scholar. He grew up and studied art in New York City, coming to Washington, D.C. in 1942 to take a job in the Smithsonian's Division of Graphic Arts. "Thus removed from the heart of the contemporary art scene, Kainen's art," maintains art historian William C. Agee, "was free to assume its own character–the particularly private and poetic lyricism that infuses his work and makes him part of the panorama of American modernism."
Diane M. Bolz

Assured composition and floating shapes mark lyrical ensemble of form and color titled *The Book of Days II* (1987).

The energized, slashing brushstrokes of *Hour of the Beast* (1953) reflect turbulence and uncertainty of McCarthy years.

Store Window (1957) reintroduces human figure after a decade of abstraction.

Interface I (1982) explores effects of color in interlocking, stepped rectangles.

Expressionistic, figurative-based street scene from 1943 is entitled *The Walk.*

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*Nissan Motor Corporation U.S.A. Smart people always read the fine print. And they always wear their seat belts.*Requires luxury package. **Optional luxury package available on Quest GXE. †Optional equipment available on the GXE model. The Quest GXE is shown with optional leather package and luxury package.*

By Richard Covington

Drawn by their rugged grandeur, are we loving the Alps to death?

Georg Gerster

Thomi Studhalter

Skiers crowd restaurant in mountains above Berne, Switzerland; as the sport's popularity increases, so do unregulated development, air pollution–and traffic jams like this one at the St. Gotthard tunnel (above).

Alp Action is leading conservation efforts to help this fragile ecosystem survive the onslaught of 100 million visitors per year

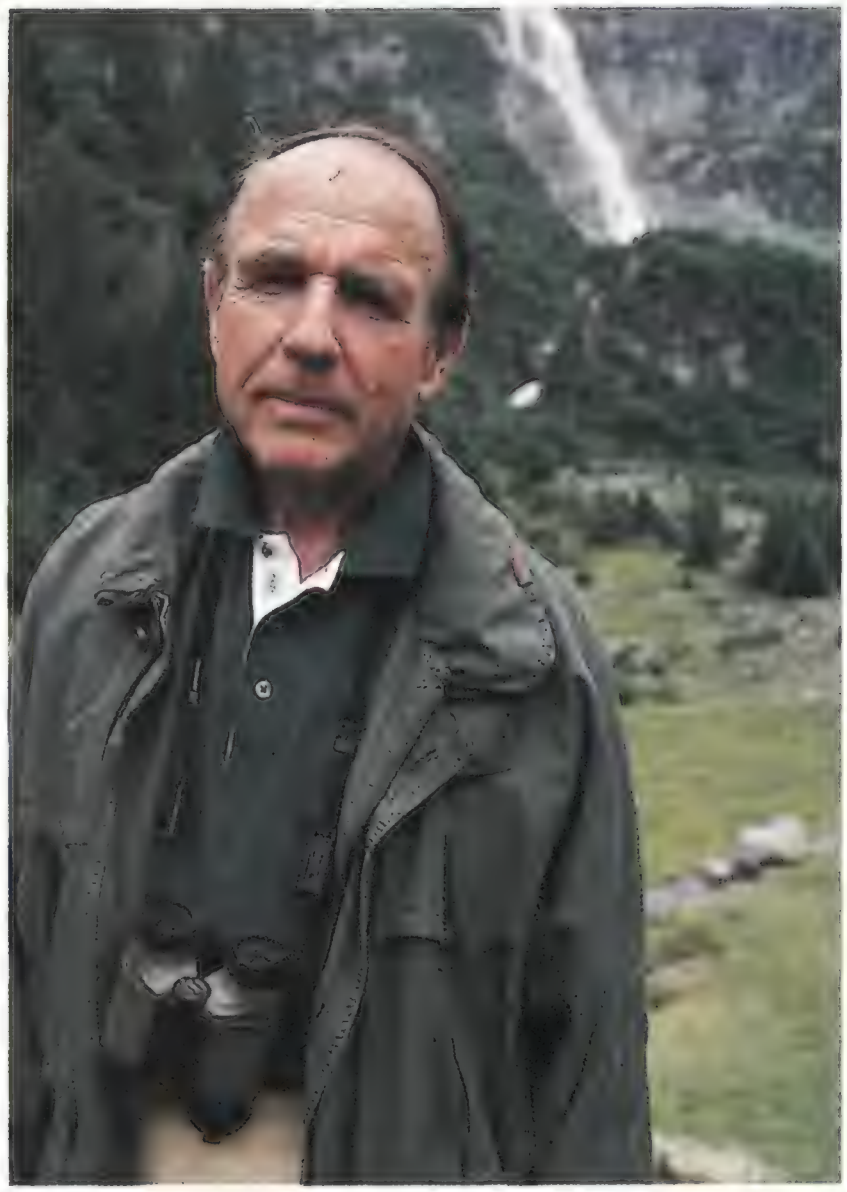
We are ascending into the clouds in a rickety wooden cable car that is open to the elements; I wrap myself more deeply into the woolen lap robe and try not to think about the 200-foot drop to the ground below. The highway snaking toward the St. Gotthard tunnel becomes a thin gray ribbon. I feel a sensation that the mountain itself is drawing us upward. The highway, village and meadows keep shrinking, and we are soon swallowed up by the mist.

Hansueli Müller, looking like a grizzly-bearded pirate, turns, flashing an impish grin. "Having fun?" he asks, minutes after I'd confessed my dread of heights. The gold earring in his left earlobe glistens in the diffuse light. Obviously, here is a man who never saw Jimmy Stewart in *Vertigo.* "I'm trying," I reply weakly.

Up top, Alois Epp awaits our arrival. For the two days that Müller, an alpine ecologist, has been guiding me through Switzerland's Uri Alps, he has crafted a romantic image of Epp as a solitary mountain man, the last of his breed. Epp is a dairy farmer who is connected to the outside world by cable car and a footpath that plummets

Photographs by Monique Jacot/ Susan Griggs Agency

The Alps stretch across seven countries; most of the truck traffic passes through them via just five routes.



Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan, Alp Action chairman, has overseen 30 corporate-funded conservation projects.

1,500 feet to the village of Silenen. It is no exaggeration to say that without this particular farmer, Silenen and the highway that carries thousands of trucks and cars through the St. Gotthard tunnel would be in peril. Epp is responsible for maintaining the forest that blocks boulders, loose soil, mud and snow from crashing down the mountain in avalanches traveling at speeds up to 180 miles per hour, crushing everything in their path.

Epp greets us in the cable car shed and leads us through the fog to his cabin. Inside the two-room dwelling, lit by a single light bulb, the three of us drink weak tea strengthened with pear schnapps. A cherubic-looking man, Epp surveys me with a bemused gaze, his watery blue eyes enlarged by the thick lenses of his old-fashioned wire spectacles.

The Epp family has farmed and logged this land since 1640. Three years ago, Vivian, the worst storm of the century, ripped through the Alps and devastated great tracts of forest. Without the trees to protect his barns and fields from avalanches, Epp's future looked bleak; he needed help or he would have to abandon his land.

Müller alerted Alp Action to Epp's predicament. This remarkable organization, based in Geneva and dedicated to preserving the Alps, worked quickly with the canton of Uri to get Epp 20,000 trees. Last fall, the farmer hauled the first 500 of the red pine saplings up the mountainside to begin the laborious replanting of the upended forest. Because of Alp Action's prompt response, Epp holds on to the farm and the villagers in Silenen can breathe more easily; the truckers and skiers traveling the highway to the tunnel are oblivious of the averted crisis.

The Alps appear to be victims of their own grandeur. This vast mountain chain is being done in by 20 million skiers a year; by endless streams of vacationers in traffic jams 80 miles long; by factories belching out nitrous and sulfur dioxide and pouring PCBs, lead and mercury into the rivers; by the onslaught of ear-shattering dirt bikes, souped-up off-road vehicles, snowmobiles and helicopters; by snow cannon creating artificial white stuff that can smother the fragile Alpine flora and fauna; and by construction of gigantic apartment buildings squatting on the peaks. It is tempting to overlook many of the environmental problems because their impact isn't im-

Richard Covington lives near Paris and writes on cultural and environmental issues. Whenever possible, he and his family escape to the Alps.

mediately obvious; the Alps still seem magnificent in their matchless beauty.

But the harm has been done. More than half the trees in the Alps have been damaged by acid rain and traffic pollution; if the trend continues, according to a report from the International Center for Alpine Environments, one-third of existing woodland will disappear in 60 years. Traffic is expected to double by 2010, though the Alps already have the busiest mountain road network in the world. Most of the automobiles and trucks that cross the Alps are funneled through one of five tunnels or one narrow pass that link northern Europe and Italy.

Downhill skiing, according to the Center's report, is the most damaging human activity. The largely unregulated construction of ski slopes has wiped out entire mountainsides, denuding them of vegetation; resort development over the past 20 years is condemned as "completely anarchic." During the ski season, the population of a resort town like La Plagne, France, is multiplied hundreds of times. With 12 million inhabitants, the Alps, though appearing to be the quintessential definition of rugged timelessness, are actually a precariously balanced ecosystem crying out for help.

The Alps form a giant elongated oval slightly south of the geographic center of Europe and cross the borders of seven countries–encompassing most of Switzerland and all of Liechtenstein and radiating outward into France, Italy, Germany, Austria and Slovenia. Since the region is only 155 miles wide at its broadest point, the Alps take up about as much space on a map as Wyoming–on a flat map, that is. But the Alps are anything but flat; the highest peak, Mont Blanc, is 15,771 feet. Along with humans, this mountain range is home to ibex, bearded vultures, lynx and brown bears–all once endangered species that are gradually being reestablished by conservation groups.

Whenever mountain chains are formed, the usual builders are tectonic plates; the Alps were created when the African plate slid beneath the European plates some 140 million years ago. At the end of the last major ice age, 10,000 years ago, the retreating glaciers revealed the valleys, moraines and ridges of the present configuration, making the landscape more habitable, if not exactly hospitable.

During the interim came Dante, Petrarch, Leonardo, Goethe, Hugo, Shelley, Byron, Mann, Turner, Friedrich and Jung–all transformed by the Alps and, in return, transforming our images of them. "The power of the mountains raises my soul and lends it purpose," rhapsodized Goethe–no empty words, considering that the

One Alp Action project is the restoration of a pasture chalet at Cascina dell'Or, a Swiss farm built in 1433. Zschokke, a large construction company, provided 40 apprentices; they expect to finish the work next year.

Are we loving the Alps to death?

Alois Epp builds tripods on a mountain above a valley road to protect saplings and stabilize fallen snow.

poet churned out seven scientific treatises on glaciers toward the end of his life. No painter did more to enhance the dramatic pull of these mountains than J. M. W. Turner with his romanticized canvases of "cataracts plunging into invisible depths, lakes shining like blue steel . . . and solitary sweeps of splendid snow," as the catalog for an 1812 exhibition at the Royal Academy in London grandiloquently enthused.

It is above one of those cataracts that Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan is familiarly gliding his black Audi on a back road in Switzerland's Bernese Oberland, where he grew up. A lithe man of 60, with thinning brown hair swept across a high forehead, Sadruddin is the picture of unstudied, even languorous calm. Igniting his anger seems unthinkable. I am about to be proved dead wrong.

I mention my recent visit to La Plagne, site of the bobsled competition for the 1992 Winter Olympics, and express how dumbstruck I was by the sight of the sprawling apartment complex near the summit. The place was deserted the preseason winter evening I was there, and of hundreds of darkened windows, only two had lights on. Suddenly the prince drops his characteristic equanimity, narrows his brown eyes, jabs a finger in the air and explodes: "It's unbelievable to see dead cities, 6,500 feet in

Jacques Henchoz describes farmers like himself who love the land as "gardeners of the Alpine landscape."

Chalet d'Alpage is Henchoz' summer place, where for two months each year he maintains fields and forest.

the mountains! Whenever I go to those resorts and see what's been done to the landscape, I feel like crying. It's monstrous, it's shameful."

Sadruddin has been unstoppable in his drive to draw attention to the plight of the Alps. Three years ago he started Alp Action, enlisting sponsors for specific environmental projects. The idea was to scour the seven-nation region for grass-roots proposals, pick the best and promote them to corporate backers. It worked. Riso Deutschland, a manufacturer of duplicating equipment, is supporting small-scale farming in Bavaria; the French cosmetics company Clarins purchased meadowland in Switzerland for use as a butterfly preserve. The U.S. company Safra Republic Holdings is sponsoring the reintroduction of the bearded vulture to the Alps, and two others, Timberland and Proctor & Gamble, are now working with Alp Action. So far, it has helped launch 30 projects, and the prince annually spends a million dollars to pay the organization's operating costs.

Born in Paris in 1933, Prince Sadruddin fled with his mother to Switzerland during World War II, just before the Nazi occupation. At the time, his father, the Aga Khan III (Prince Sadruddin is uncle to the present Aga Khan IV), head of the Ismaili Muslims and former president of the League of Nations, was a principal negotiator in the crucial task of persuading the Arab countries not to ally themselves with Hitler.

It was the prince's mother, a landscape painter and amateur naturalist from the French Savoie, who kindled his early appreciation of the Alps. "Some of my most vivid memories are of discovering mountain lakes high in the glacier regions where few people went in those days," he tells me.

After graduating from Harvard the prince worked for UNESCO, where he was instrumental in obtaining American subsidies for raising Abu Simbel above Aswan Dam flooding. Then he was named U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees, a position he held for 12 years, handling crises in Bangladesh, Uganda, Chile and Cyprus. Along the way, he founded the *Paris Review*. Currently he has turned his formidable energies to Alp Action and the Bellerive Foundation, the parent organization he created in 1977 to finance conservation and education projects.

"Mountains have been woefully ignored on the global environment agenda," the prince laments, "though they suffer the problems of acid rain, deforestation, erosion, overdevelopment and burgeoning tourism. They are arguably the most sophisticated air-conditioning machine

Unfinished hotel begun near La Plagne for business from '92 Winter Games stays a bankrupt eyesore.

Le bob, a $42 million bobsled run, presses down on La Roche and lays a heavy hand on the landscape.

imaginable; we still don't know exactly their role in global warming or the greenhouse effect. If the glaciers are melting naturally, does development of ski runs speed up that process? If the glaciers become polluted, and the Alps are the water tower of Europe, what about water flowing into the Rhine, the Rhône, the Po and the Danube rivers?

"The Alpine region was selected for our attention," says Sadruddin, "because it is such a large tourist draw: 100 million visitors a year. Development brings a higher standard of living to the residents, but the tourism industry is at grave risk of killing itself." As the number of resorts and people visiting them metastasizes, the number of farms and agricultural communities shrivels. The paradox is that tourism is dependent on the farmers both for maintaining the landscape and for preserving the region's beloved character. "One of the reasons agriculture is so hugely subsidized," Sadruddin points out, "is that the farmers act as gardeners of the landscape."

Jacques Henchoz is one of those Alpine farmers trying desperately to hold on to his land. An intensely articulate and self-possessed man in his 30s, Henchoz launches into a passionate reprise of his dilemma as soon as Sadruddin and I meet him at his farmhouse in Switzerland's Pays d'Enhaut region.

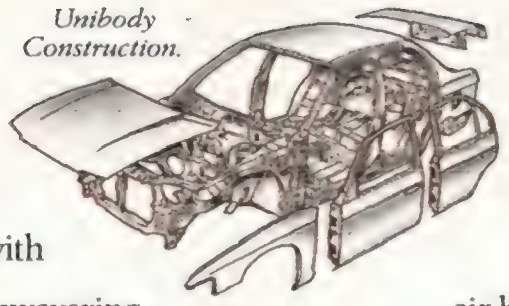
"Subsidizing farmers," Henchoz forcefully delares, "is an incredible bargain. If the state maintained the land it would cost three times as much." Every winter Henchoz goes to the forest to cut timber to sell to boost his income. "Most of it rots because I have to charge too much," he comments morosely. "What's terrible is that people construct their chalets with wood from Scandinavia, where they clear-cut on flat ground. It's much cheaper than cutting timber selectively on the steep alpine slopes."

The prince interjects angrily, "It's absolutely insane. Alpine countries capable of exploiting their own forest reserves are now *importing* wood, which contributes to the deforestation of Third World countries."

The European Community annually provides $172 million in subsidies for silviculture–the development, care and managed logging of forests–but member countries haven't taken advantage of these credits, and the Alpine timber industry remains insignificant.

How can Alp Action favor cutting trees for timber in some parts of the region and at the same time promote planting trees in others? I put the question to Denis Landenbergue, the organization's project manager, as we drive at a snail's pace through the seven-mile-long Mont Blanc tunnel, sandwiched between two of the 2,400 tractor-trailer rigs that pass through the tunnel each day. We are heading south en route to a tree-planting site in Italy's Aosta Valley.

"We encourage selective cutting of forests at lower altitudes, not clear-cutting," he explains, "so that the forest cover is constantly preserved and the biotopes maintained for indigenous plants and animals. In other places, we plant trees for protection against avalanches and to replace those destroyed by storms, bark beetles and other pests."



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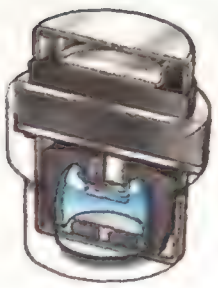

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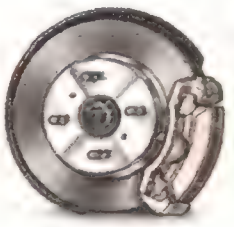

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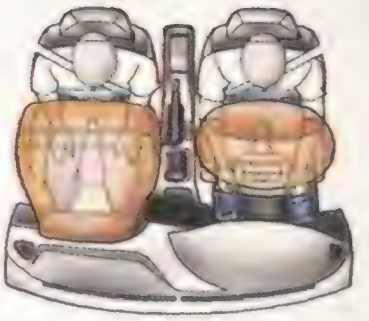

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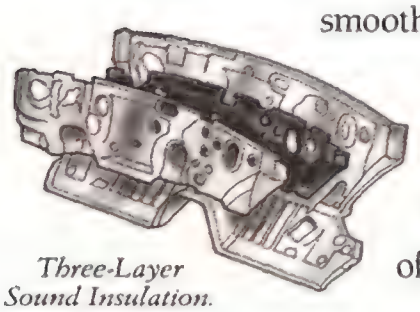

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One of these pests was the culprit that had wreaked havoc at our destination in the Aosta Valley. *Lymantria monacha*, the extraordinarily luminous nun moth, begins life as a caterpillar with an appetite that can be hell on trees, particularly nondeciduous species such as the red and white pines, which do not regenerate new needles every spring. The past four years in the valley have been the hottest in this century, perfect for a successful caterpillar invasion of thousands of trees already weakened by lead pollution and diesel fumes from the tunnel traffic.

"A single pine can absorb as much as 500 gallons of precipitation," Landenbergue observes, "so when this pine forest was wiped out by caterpillars and air pollution, there was a much greater risk of avalanches down onto the Mont Blanc-Aosta-Turin axis, a crossroads between Italy and the rest of Europe."

Alp Action staged a retaliatory invasion. Some 500 schoolchildren and their parents and teachers, as well as foresters and a swarm of journalists, all led by Prince Sadruddin acting like the Pied Piper in his khaki mufti, carried pine saplings and planted them over the deci-

Sick trees in Italy's Aosta Valley are victims of fumes from traffic passing through the Mont Blanc tunnel.

mated area. Half media circus, half serious forestry, the ceremony was part of a larger campaign by the international chocolate-and-coffee conglomerate Milka-Kraft Jacobs Suchard to supply 400,000 trees to Switzerland, Germany, Austria and France.

Like many isolated mountain communities throughout the Alps, the residents of the Aosta Valley are fiercely independent. Under the leadership of Denis Ducroz, filmmaker and mountain guide, a successful citizens' movement has been launched to block a proposal to widen the Mont Blanc tunnel. We meet at the tunnel entrance, where he ticks off a litany of transport violations that would only increase if the proposal were passed.

For Dutch pigs, a trip to "Parma" land

Ducroz points out trucks filled with Dutch and Belgian pigs being hauled down to Italy so they can be slaughtered there and stamped "Parma" ham–a more prestigious appellation than, say, "Maastricht" ham. We watch a line of trucks back up. One of them, a three-tiered behemoth, is crammed with doleful-looking pigs that have been on the road for more than 20 hours; some of them have perished en route. I later see a load of Bavarian potatoes being packed off to Italy, where it is cheaper to wash them than in Germany–even with transport costs. The clean potatoes are then trucked back to Germany for processing into fries and chips. "The stupidity and inefficiency boggles the mind," protests Ducroz.

Traffic is more than a headache in the Alps. A few years ago it was a giant rift that set Switzerland at odds with the entire European Community, pitting mountain residents against government ministries in Rome, Paris, Bonn and Brussels. With traffic predicted to double within 17 years, some EC bureaucrats had called for ten new tunnels. The Swiss had a better idea. To meet this exploding demand, they proposed a system of rail-truck transport that would entail loading trucks onto trains on one side of the Alps and unloading them on the other, greatly reducing the number of trucks on the roads. Two new rail tunnels have been approved. The project means 60 miles of new tunnels to be built over 12 years at a cost of $11 billion. France, Italy, Germany and Austria are now considering similar proposals.

The Swiss are taking their concerns even further by promoting the Alpine Initiative, a nationwide referendum that prohibits the building of any new tunnels (excluding the two railroad tunnels), the widening of existing tunnels and the building of new transit roads.

Hansueli Müller is hopeful about the future and believes there is a popular backlash against the notion that engineering can solve all the problems that arise when technology finds itself at odds with nature. He makes his arguments as we drive up the Reuss River valley through Switzerland, just north of the St. Gotthard tunnel.

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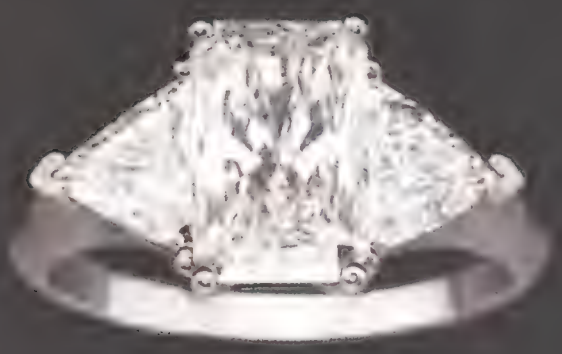

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Wendy Stienegerd, a Mountain Forest Project volunteer, examines newly planted trees in eastern Switzerland.

Müller stops alongside the highway and takes me up a steep slope to a man-made avalanche berm: a protective earthen wall. It is so well camouflaged I nearly stumble into it. The wall is about 10 feet high and 300 feet long. In the ditch behind it are massive boulders strewn like giant tumbled dice. "Many of the boulders weigh more than a ton," observes Müller, "but even berms as large as this one can only go so far to protect the villages and the road below." As the high forests deteriorate, there is no natural barrier against avalanches, and when they move fast, no man-made structure can halt them.

As we continue, Müller acts as a sort of perverse tour guide, pointing out 75-foot-high concrete walls intended to funnel slides away from settlements, roads and train tracks. I see eight-foot-high steel snow barriers shaped like a child's set of jacks, systems to control flooding and erosion, and acres upon acres of iron netting to catch falling rocks. I begin to realize how truly enormous–and costly–the infrastructure is for protecting the highway.

What's the alternative, I ask, close the highway? After a long pause, Müller smiles ruefully, saying "of course not. I just want people to recognize the costs of maintaining it so that we do not repeat mistakes."

Like the tunnel and the highway, the hugely popular 1992 Winter Olympic Games came at high environmental cost. The events took place at 13 different sites, scattered across nearly 1,000 square miles of the Savoie region of France near Albertville. The damage is obvious–the ugly scars on the landscape and the hulking structures are reminders of the injury added to the already painful $48 million deficit. On the plus side, the Games left the region with new hospitals and waste-treatment plants and better water supplies and rail connections, explains Olympics organizer Michel Barnier, now the French Minister of the Environment. A superhighway was also built, which greatly reduces the time it takes skiers to hit the slopes, but construction required expanding the canalization of the Isère River. This has caused flooding downstream and created a permanent barrier blocking the paths of deer and other foraging animals. And of course, thanks to the Games with their global television audience of two billion, the Savoie is now writ large in the collective mind of tourism.

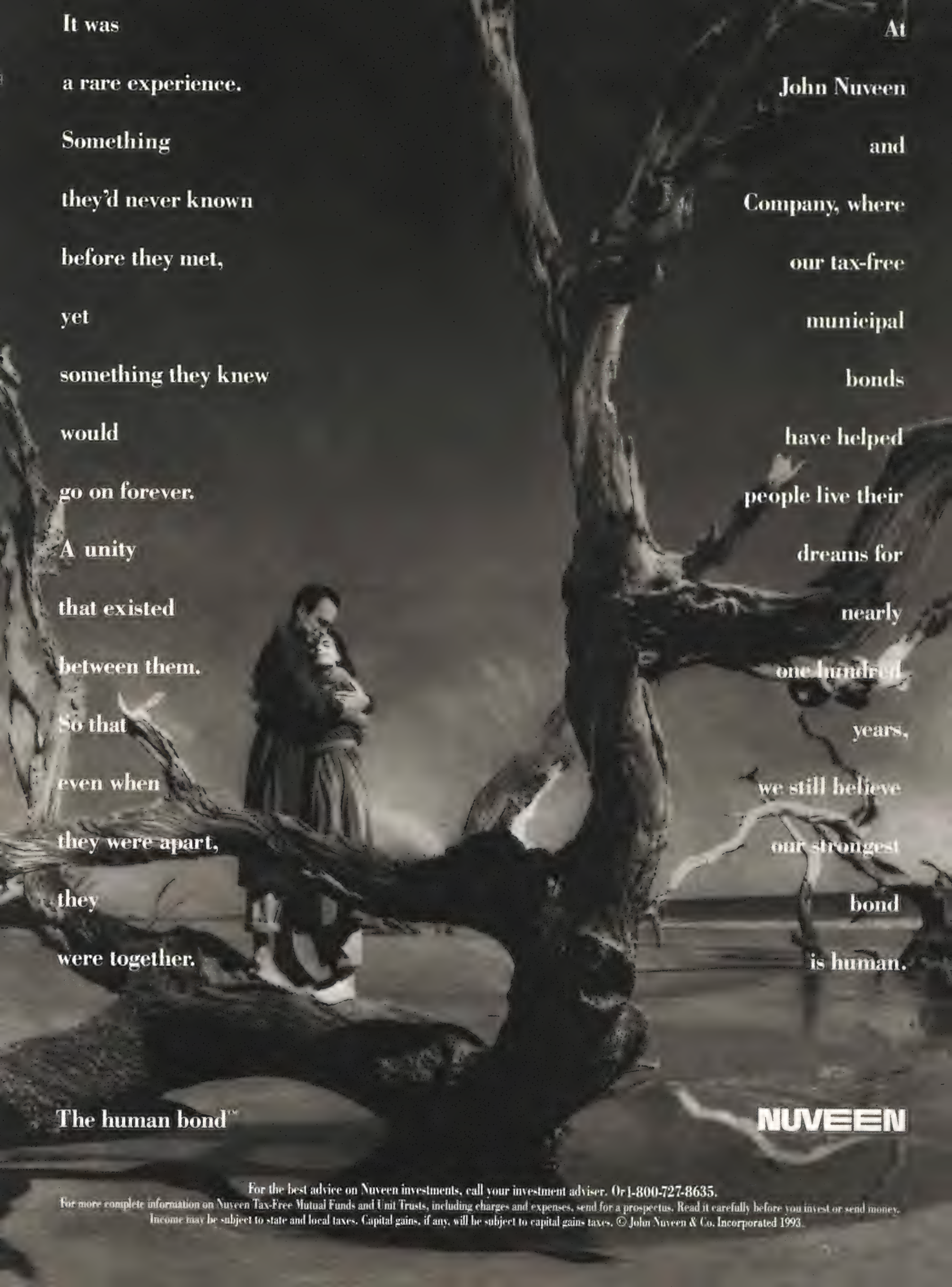
Barnier claims that the Games were especially spectacular. "Everyone in France considered them a success." Philippe Deletombe, of the Rhône Alps Federation for Nature Protection, is one of many environmental activists who disagree. He says that *le bob,* as the French call the bobsled run at La Plagne, is a dangerous monstrosity. The run was built on a geologically unstable site, according to Deletombe, and part of it passes right next to the village of La Roche. The 4,921-foot course is kept frozen with toxic ammonia gas, so during construction villagers were given gas masks. And, after initially forbidding spectators near the run after the Games, the French Government, citing the risk of leaks, required expensive safety modifications.

A beautiful slope–now concrete and astroturf

Building the huge, all-season ski jump at Courchevel required thousands of tons of concrete, and the ugly tower is visible for miles around. What was once a beautifully forested slope is now the landing run–astroturf rippling over a carpet of concrete. Even some Savoie officials involved in planning the Games admit that ski slopes at Tignes and Val d'Isère are a blight and wish the excavations that created them had been more in harmony with the contours of the mountains. Organizers of the 1994 Winter Games in Lillehammer are working closely with the Norwegian Society for the Conservation of Nature to avoid the same mistakes.

No one is advocating enclosing the Alps in a glass shield; the region could not survive economically without skiing, tourism and development. "What Alp Action is promoting," pleads Prince Sadruddin, "is green tourism–hiking, cross-country skiing, sensible downhill skiing. We need to sensitize skiers not to pollute, to ski on the trails and to respect nature.

"People are tiring of expensive, high-tech tourism very quickly, and the tour operators are feeling the pinch. In France the number of skiers has dropped by 25 percent in the past four years. People don't want to leave one city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to go to another in the mountains, where they have to wait in lines and live in high-rise apartments."

One dramatic example of the rising awareness of preserving the Alpine wilderness is the overwhelming success of the Mountain Forest Project. This forest restoration program gives volunteers the opportunity to replant and maintain damaged Alpine forests at 11 sites in Switzerland and Germany. Working alongside professional foresters and instructors, the participants spend a week clearing streambeds, building wooden erosion dams, laying footpaths and shoring up windbreaks to shelter marmots and other small animals.

Almost all of the Alpine nations and the EC have now signed the Alpine Convention, the first agreement to push for a "common development strategy based on ecological objectives." But the signatories are faced with the realities of their decisions. Peter Hasslacher, head of environmental conservation for the Austrian Alpine Club, is worried. He has labored for ten years to talk the residents of the Tyrol into creating "quiet zones" in the mountains, where new lifts, new roads, new industry and heli-skiing are forbidden. The bureaucrats hammering out the protocols to the convention, Hasslacher complains, talk to one another and not to the local residents. "We had to work hard to get the officials to change the wording of the agreement from benefiting 'countries' to benefiting 'inhabitants' of the Alpine region," he says.

Ultimately, the Alps' richest resource is not in the adrenaline high of schussing down the side of a mountain on two sticks, or the chic pleasures of strolling past boutiques and bars in Gstaad and Cortina d'Ampezzo on a snowy winter afternoon, or even the simple luxury of breathing in long drafts of clean air. The Alps offer transcendence; they are symbolic of strength and rootedness. We go to them to seek "wisdom and purification," reflects Prince Sadruddin. "But the possibility for that experience is in imminent danger of disappearing, and its preservation is no less than a sacred task."

At the Mountain Forest Project site above Curaglia, fences are in place to shelter saplings from erosion and slides. The forest was leveled in 1990 by Vivian, the worst storm of the century to rip through the Alps.

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The Beautiful Bird Revealing the Unknown to a Pair of Lovers is part of Miró's Constellation series, 23 works in gouache and oil done in 1940 and '41. These paintings "were my refuge during the war," the artist later said.

By Stanley Meisler

For Joan Miró, poetry and painting were the same

And although the works of the noted Catalan artist appear spontaneous and free, they were really the product of disciplined intensity

Musée Picasso, Paris

Self-portrait from 1919, painted at age 26 before Miró went to France, shows early influence of Cubism.

On a sun-seared April afternoon 15 years ago, another foreign correspondent and I called on Joan Miró at his home on a hill just outside Palma on the craggy, medieval island of Majorca. A few days short of his 85th birthday, the impish yet seemingly shy painter, wearing a suit and tie, received us in his living room, a typical Spanish bourgeois salon with stuffed furniture, houseplants and shelves of knickknacks. The decor, in fact, included several pieces of the white-painted, clay-molded, folk-crafted whistle figures that tourists always buy in Majorca. The paintings, tapestry and fan on the walls, however, did not blend in. All were original Mirós. Polite, pleased to meet journalists from the country that first hailed his genius, Miró, during more than two hours of conversation in Spanish, acknowledged that outsiders might be surprised at how ordinary he seemed, how different from the images of his more bohemian, more histrionic, more eccentric compatriots Pablo Picasso and Salvador Dali. "I live like a normal citizen," he said. "But there is a Catalan saying that the procession marches inside you. What happens is inside.

"Inside?" he then asked, chuckling and waving an open hand near his chest. "Whew!"

Miró, by then, was a tiny, stooped man with delicate, thinning white hair and the palest of gray eyes. His shoes seemed too large for him, making a visitor recall the enormous feet that are found in some of his paintings. Though a lover of poetry who often created titles out of fanciful imagery–*A Star caresses the breast of a black woman* (1938), *The Beautiful Bird Revealing the Unknown to a Pair of Lovers* (1941)–he was hardly glib. To emphasize a point, in fact, he often used a click of the tongue or a swing of his fist instead of a word. "America has influenced me greatly because of the vitality that you have," he said. "It has a push." Then he punched his fist through the air to show what kind of push.

Now that the world is celebrating the 100th anniversary of the birth of the great painter, who died on Christmas Day in 1983, I remember most what he told us about Catalonia, his native region of Spain. Ruminating about the symbol of the outsize foot, Miró explained that it represented Catalonia and the force emanating from its soil. He pounded the floor with his foot to illustrate the force. "My force enters here," he said. "It's an ancestral thing of blood. . . . Where I am rooted the strongest is in Catalonia, and it enters through my feet." He clicked his tongue to underscore the force.

Since anniversaries are times of rediscovery, Miró is sure to attract new insight, analysis and admiration this year. The main vehicle is the sumptuous retrospective that opened on his birthday, April 20, at the Joan Miró Foundation in Barcelona and that, in an expanded and altered form, moved to the Museum of Modern Art in New York last month, where it remains on view until January 11, 1994. Although the Spanish and American curators insist that they really have fashioned separate exhibitions, the two shows depend on the same cluster of works, mainly from American collections, for their power and enchantment.

National Gallery of Art

The Farm summed up Miró's home at Montroig, which he felt was the most Catalan place of all: "I wanted to put everything I loved about the country into that canvas–from a huge tree to a tiny little snail."

At first glance, it would seem there is little to rediscover about Miró either in Barcelona or in New York. He is ubiquitous in Barcelona and, in fact, almost so in the rest of Spain. Barcelona, after all, is the capital of Catalonia, and Catalans feel the same identity with Miró that he expressed so often for the region. Although the Catalan regional government has proclaimed 1993 the *Any Miró* (Catalan for the "Miró Year"), Spaniards did not need this reminder. In Barcelona, almost every bank uses a logo that either derives from a Miró design or imitates one. Spanish government offices dealing with tourists do the same. Miró's favorite colors of his last decades–black and the primary colors–dominate advertising. Even the symbol of the 1992 Barcelona Olympics–a leaping stick figure in a flash of blue, yellow and red–is patterned on Miró. "When I looked around at the Olympics on opening day," says Rosa Maria Malet, the director of the Miró Foundation, "I said to myself, 'This could not have been done without Miró.' The colors. The symbols. Miró was everywhere."

But, for the most part, Spaniards know only the later Miró. In the last 20 years of his life, heavily involved in printmaking and posters, he lent his art to countless causes, especially those extolling Catalan culture. His posters promoted the Catalan language, a new Catalan newspaper and even Barça, the Barcelona soccer team. Spaniards became familiar with his large, bold, black figures and his thick splashes of primary colors.

But they knew very little about the classic Miró, the paintings that had captivated the critics of New York and Paris in the 1930s and '40s and insured his reputation as a 20th-century master. Rich Spaniards did not buy early Mirós before the Spanish Civil War. After the dictator Francisco Franco assumed power at the end of the war, it was not politically correct to buy a Miró. As a result, Spain has almost none of his best-known works.

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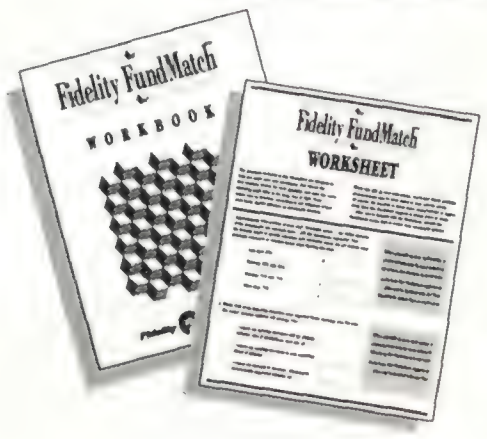

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The Miró Foundation is rich in Miró notebooks and in paintings from his youth and old age–and little in between. Only one of the 23 Constellation paintings of World War II, perhaps Miró's finest achievement, belongs to a Spanish collection.

Most Americans, on the other hand, know little about the elderly Miró and his use of bold figures and colors to attract a wide public both to a host of Catalan and Spanish causes and to his own private world of poetic symbols. Nor have they had a chance until now to examine the notebooks that he turned over to the foundation. These notebooks help lay to rest the old notion that Miró would attack canvases without planning, like a child playing in finger paint.

The works of Miró always lent themselves to this interpretation. For several years, he associated with the Surrealists in Paris. They preached the need to lavish the images of the subconscious directly on the canvas. Over decades, Miró created myriad personal symbols of monstrous feet, grotesque women, twisted ears, enormous eyes, spiraling letters, clustering stars, dancing insects, playful demons, ink-spot birds, stick animals, escape ladders, angry cats, barking dogs and much more. Sometimes a canvas seems to brim with as many symbols as a painting by Hieronymus Bosch. But where Bosch is the alchemist of darkness, Miró is the prince of light and color. It is hard to enter a room full of Mirós without breaking into a smile and feeling a dollop of joy.

And yet, if Miró were only playful, he would not be serious. If he painted only childlike dreams and hallucinations, he would be frivolous. Both Rosa Maria Malet, who designed the Barcelona show, and Carolyn Lanchner, the Museum of Modern Art curator responsible for the New York show, are trying to dispel these assumptions. "We wanted to break the myth," says Malet, "that Miró painted directly on the canvas, without preparation, like a child." In Barcelona, Malet has done this by exhibiting numerous treasures from the notebooks in the collection of the Miró Foundation, demonstrating how Miró ordered his ideas and images before committing them to canvas. While using the notebooks as well, Lanchner also breaks the myth by emphasizing Miró's penchant for working in series, conceiving and carefully planning whole groups of related paintings. In her lengthy essay for the MOMA catalog, Lanchner acknowledges that Miró's "oeuvre now stands as the paradigm of all that is free and spontaneous in twentieth-century art," but she stresses the need to understand the "tortuous paths he took" to achieve this.

Museum of Modern Art

In Miró's personal lexicon, the big toe in *Person Throwing a Stone at a Bird* (1926) symbolized common humanity.

Approaching art as a religion

Joan (pronounced ZHOE-AHN, the Catalan equivalent of Juan) Miró was born at 9 P.M. on April 20, 1873, at home, 4 Pasaje del Credito, in the Gothic quarter of Barcelona, a few blocks from the cathedral and the Plaza Sant Jaume, where Catalan nationalists still dance their *sardanas* every Sunday. He came from a family of artisans. He was the eldest child and only son of Miquel Miró Adzerias, a goldsmith and watchmaker, and Dolores Ferrà, the daughter of a cabinetmaker in Palma de Majorca. Miró remembered himself as "a very poor student . . . quiet, rather taciturn, and a dreamer." But he approached his after-hours drawing classes as if they were a religious ceremony. "The implements were like sacred objects, and I worked as though I were performing a religious rite," he told a French critic years later. Miró learned to paint in a city dominated by the elaborate and fanciful architecture of Antoni Gaudi and the other Catalan modernists. Great bounds of imagination surrounded him.

Miró grew up in a period of intense Catalan nationalist feelings. It was the age of nationalism in Europe, and the Catalans, who spoke their own language–a language closer to a French dialect known as Langue d'Oc than to Castillian Spanish–revived historical memories and myths of Catalan medieval greatness and expanse.

His father bought a farm in Montroig a few miles inland from the Mediterranean in his native province of Tarragona, south of Barcelona; Miró, who from 1911 onward spent many of his summers there, proclaimed himself "an international Catalan," an artist who would explore the essence of Catalonia with a personal style derived from the main currents in avant-garde art. He intended to paint all that was real in the Catalan countryside, which he painstakingly observed at Montroig.

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Albright-Knox Art Gallery

Though it conveys a dreamlike sense of spontaneity, Miró's *Carnival of Harlequin* was actually painted only after numerous careful studies–to the annoyance of André Breton, who was "high priest" of Surrealism.

An outsider can probably best understand Miró's feeling for Catalonia at this time through *The Farm*, which he started in Montroig in 1921 and completed a year later in Paris. "I wanted to put everything I loved about the country into that canvas–from a huge tree to a tiny little snail," he told a friend. Miró stripped each element down to such exquisite realistic detail–dwelling on what would become familiar Miró symbols, such as the dog barking at the moon, the creeping snail and the birdlike leaves of the eucalyptus tree–that he seemed to mock reality or create what Lanchner calls a "magic realism."

A few years later, both Ernest Hemingway and an American poet, Evan Shipman, decided they wanted to buy *The Farm* from Miró's dealer. They rolled dice for it; Hemingway won but had to scurry around Paris to borrow enough money to pay the 5,000 francs asked by the dealer. According to his biographer Carlos Baker, Hemingway believed that "Miró was the only painter who had ever been able to combine in one picture all that you felt about Spain when you were there and all that you felt when you were away and could not go there."

Yet, while Miró gloried in Montroig and the Catalan countryside, he found Catalonia's capital, Barcelona, stifling. "If I have to live much longer in Barcelona," he wrote a friend, "I will be asphyxiated by the atmosphere–so stingy and such a backwater (artistically speaking)." So Miró headed for Paris.

On his first trip, in March 1920 when he was nearly 27, he stayed for three and a half months. At first he lived in a hotel favored by Catalan artists and writers. "When I arrived in Paris, I was disoriented, paralyzed," he recalled. "For three or four months, I was incapable of painting. . . ." He found the Louvre "powerful" and "utterly divine." "Can't you just imagine my awe–I who have never been out of Barcelona," he wrote a friend. He admired Pablo Picasso–"very fine, very sensitive, a great painter." But a visit to Picasso's studio made his spirits sink. "Everything is done for his dealer, for the money," he said. "A visit to Picasso is like visiting a ballerina with a number of lovers." His inability to work lasted until he returned to Montroig in the summer. Then, he "immediately burst into painting the way children burst into tears."

For the next decade, Miró divided his life between studios in Paris and the farm in Montroig, painting in both places. Paris drew him into the intellectual currents of Europe; Montroig offered him respite and renewal of his roots. In Paris, his circle included Ernest Hemingway, Ezra Pound, Picasso, Louis Aragon, Max Ernst, André Masson, Henry Miller, Jacques Prévert and the high priest of Surrealism, André Breton. He sometimes boxed with Hemingway at the American Club "in a real ring." The results were "comical" since, as he recalled, "I didn't come up any higher than his belly button." More often, he served as timekeeper while Hemingway boxed with Canadian novelist Morley Callaghan.

Miró was no drunken Modigliani making his way through the bistros of Paris selling sketches for a drink. "I lived alone in total poverty," he recalled, "but every time I went out I wore a monocle and white spats." He kept his brushes clean, waxed and polished the floor of his studio and arranged his canvases in neat order.

Unlike Picasso, Miró did not have a succession of

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wives and mistresses to write memoirs about him or serve as subjects themselves for biography. In 1929 he married Pilar Juncosa of Palma, "the most beautiful and sweetest bride in the world," and lived with her until his death 54 years later. Pilar joined my session with Miró in the living room while he was discussing his numerous grotesque portraits of women. He smiled, clicked his tongue and punched the air. "Evil," he said, describing his portraits. Pilar interrupted and asked if we hadn't noticed that, although his women are all ugly, his self-portraits are quite handsome. Miró laughed and left the subject of women.

In Paris, Miró fell under the sway of Surrealism. André Breton described Miró as the "most surrealist of us all." The Surrealists took their inspiration from the publication of Sigmund Freud's *The Interpretation of Dreams* in 1900 and the belief, as psychoanalyst C. G. Jung put it, that "in dreams we put on the likeness of that more universal, truer, more eternal man who dwells in the darkness of primordial night."

Breton wanted Surrealists to transfer a dream–"infantile, grotesque or immoral as it may be"–onto canvas. To best capture the essence of the dream, Breton insisted, the painter should attack the canvas without thinking, as if powered by the dream itself; powered, in short, by the subconscious. He called this "psychic automatism."

The poetry of Surrealism, its glorification of symbolism and metaphor, probably influenced Miró far more than its theory of dreams. As Carolyn Lanchner points out, he was a "voracious reader" of Charles Baudelaire, Arthur Rimbaud, Alfred Jarry and Guillaume Apollinaire. Surrealist writers like Louis Aragon and Paul Eluard interested him even more than Surrealist painters. "I make no distinction between painting and poetry," said Miró.

Carnival of Harlequin, completed in 1925, is as chockfull of poetic symbols as anything Miró painted during these Surrealist years. Miró did not paint from dreams as Breton demanded. Instead, feeling pangs of hunger, he tried to "capture the hallucinations caused by my hunger." The great variety of symbols led many to regard this painting as a modern version of Hieronymus Bosch. The painting brims with benign beasties and fanciful musicians. A ladder signifies escape, a black circle represents Earth, a black triangle stands for the Eiffel Tower. Miró did not rush at the canvas with his hallucinations. The notebooks show that he planned this work carefully and composed it upon a grid background like other paintings in the same series.

It was hard to keep up with the dogma of Surrealism. In 1926 Sergei Diaghilev commissioned Miró and Max Ernst to design costumes and sets for his Ballet Russe production of *Romeo and Juliet*, opening at the Théâtre Sarah Bernhardt in Paris. At first Breton and his Surrealist cohorts were pleased. But Picasso reportedly complained to them, "The moment you see a check you collaborate with reactionary White Russians!" On opening night, the Surrealists staged a demonstration at the theater, handing out a broadside by Breton and Aragon attacking Miró and Ernst for negotiating "with the powers of money." Although Breton and the painters reconciled later, Miró steadfastly refused to sign any Surrealist manifesto, especially the ones extolling "psychic automatism." He simply refused to believe that any painting could come full-blown out of a dream.

A new base in Barcelona

The 1930s weighed on Miró and left him troubled, unsettled, fearful. Although dealers had started to sell his paintings in both New York and Paris, the worldwide depression slowed sales. Miró found that he could not support his family in Paris anymore. In 1932 he, Pilar and their daughter, Dolores, moved into the family apartment in the Gothic quarter of Barcelona. He continued to summer in Montroig and make occasional trips to Paris, though Barcelona was now his base.

But the Spanish Civil War, which broke out in 1936, trapped Miró and his family on a visit to Paris. He decided to wait out the war there with them. A mood of impending disaster had shrouded his work for some time. A year before, feeling "a heaviness in the head, aching bones and asphyxiating dampness," he had tried "to depict this sensation of tragedy that gripped me deep inside." *Man and Woman in Front of a Pile of Excrement* and other works of dark comedy were the result.

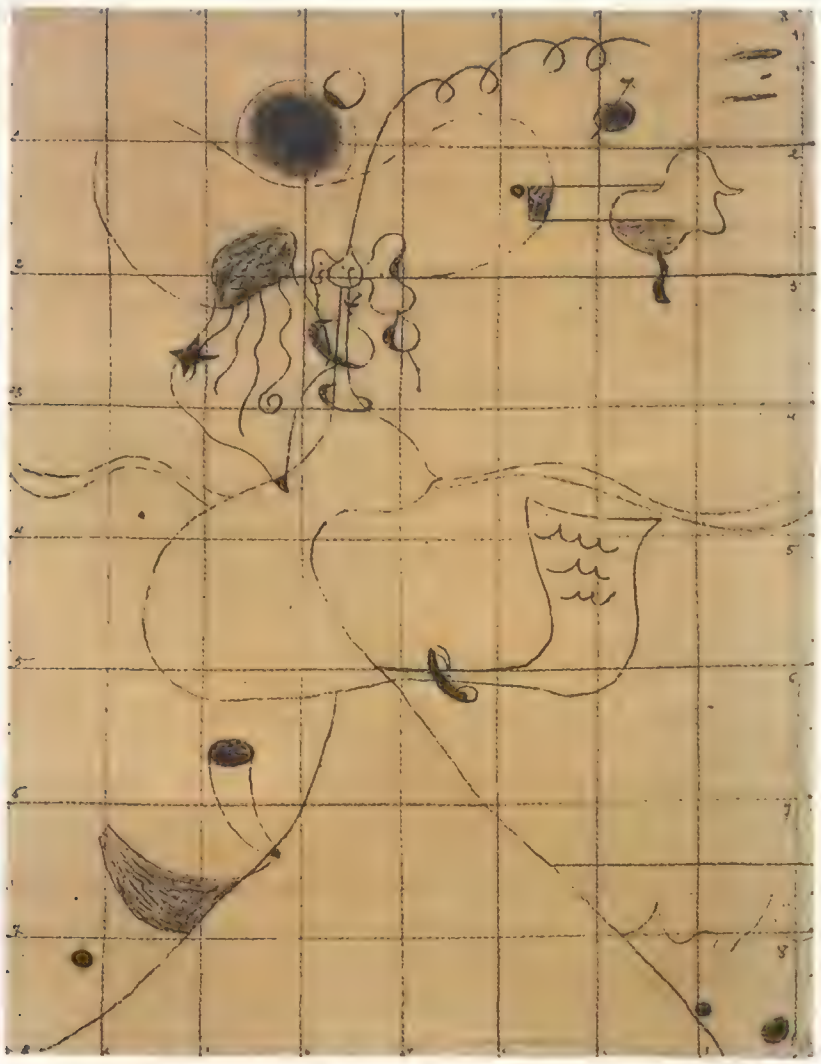
A year later he painted *Still Life with Old Shoe* (p. 74), which critics have since hailed as an allegory on the horrors of war, as powerful in its own way as Picasso's *Guernica*. The fork plunging into the heart of an apple, the burning bottle, the dried-out bread, the abandoned shoe–all seemed to reflect the cruelty and despair of Spain. Miró, however, insisted he had no such allegory in mind. He told his dealer Pierre Matisse beforehand that he intended "to push this painting to the limit, for I want it to hold up against a good still life by Velázquez." Later he confided, "I must confess that I wasn't aware that I was painting my *Guernica*." When he plunged the fork into the apple, he did not think "about the soldier sticking his bayonet into the enemy's body." But he did know that he was "painting something tremendously serious." In fact, he almost failed to finish it because of a "general feeling of terror."

When Josep Luis Sert, the Catalan architect who later taught at Harvard, organized the Spanish pavilion at the 1937 Paris World's Fair, he commissioned Picasso

The author, a Los Angeles Times *correspondent who covers the United Nations, last wrote about American youth in Prague, for the June issue.*

All: Museum of Modern Art

Miró's deliberate approach can be seen by comparing his *Portrait of Mrs. Mills in 1750* (below, at right) with the inspiration for the painting (the 18th-century work above, at left) and his studies that led to the final work.



For Miró, poetry and painting were one

and Miró to create murals for it. Incensed by the German air raid that Gen. Francisco Franco had ordered to destroy the Basque town of Guernica, Picasso painted what is probably the best-known political painting of the 20th century. Turning once again to the Catalan peasant as his model, on six masonite panels, 18 feet by 12 feet overall, Miró painted *El Segador* (*The Reaper*), a portrait of an anguished but defiant farmer. After the fair closed, this symbol of oppression was dismantled and shipped to Valencia, the wartime capital of the Spanish Republic. It was never found again.

With world war imminent in August 1939, Miró rented a house at Varengeville on the sea in Normandy. Georges Braques, Herbert Read and Alexander Calder had also taken refuge in the town. In January 1940 he began his series of paintings in gouache and oil on paper known as the Constellations. By the following May, the first bombs had fallen on Normandy, and German troops were advancing on France. While panic seized France, Miró and his wife returned to Paris, then fled only eight days before the Germans marched in. They headed for Perpignon and slipped across the border into Catalonia, Miró clinging to his portfolio of the first part of the Constellation series. Friends persuaded him that it was too dangerous for an artist so identified with the Spanish Republic to show up in Franco-occupied Barcelona. They made their way to Pilar's ancestral island of Majorca, where Miró hid and worked, using his mother's name of Ferrà.

A few months later he would be an internationally recognized artist. New York's Museum of Modern Art opened the first grand retrospective of his work in November 1941. But Miró could see no future. "I was very pessimistic," he said. "I felt that everything was lost. After the Nazi invasion of France and Franco's victory, I was sure they wouldn't let me go on painting, that I would only be able to go to the beach and draw in the sand or draw figures with the smoke from my cigarette. When I was painting the Constellations I had the genuine feeling that I was working in secret. But it was a liberation for me . . . I ceased thinking about all the tragedy around me."

Carolyn Lanchner calls the Constellations one of the "miracles that art occasionally bestows." Miró painted a whirl of stars, moons, birds, eyes, whiskers, spirals, dots, squares and triangles hurtling through space in magnificent color and eerie balance. He said he took his inspiration from the night, from music and from the stars. Music, in fact, had led him along the way just as poetry had in the past. Miró managed to smuggle the series out to his New York dealer through the diplomatic pouch of a Brazilian Embassy cultural attaché. When Pierre Matisse exhibited them at his gallery in January 1945, they were the first sign to America that the war had not paralyzed all of European art. André Breton, exiled in New York, wrote that the exhibit opened a window for Americans to look onto "all the flowering trees that the distant storm might have spared." The paintings astounded and influenced the new American abstract artists like Jackson Pollock.

From Europe to the world

There was no doubt about Miró's standing after World War II. Commissions for murals came rapidly. He produced some in ceramic in collaboration with an old friend, Josep Llorens Artigas, including two walls at UNESCO in Paris. Other murals graced the Terrace Hilton Hotel in Cincinnati (now at the Cincinnati Art Museum), the Harvard University law school and the Barcelona airport. Miró had never traveled outside Europe before, but he would make six trips to the United States and two to Japan after the war. Soon after his 65th birthday, in 1959, the Museum of Modern Art staged a second retrospective. That same year President Dwight D. Eisenhower presented him with the Grand International Award of the Guggenheim Foundation at a reception in the White House. The National Museum of Modern Art in Paris honored his 70th birthday with a retrospective. So did the Tate Gallery in London. The Grand Palais in Paris celebrated him with another retrospective soon after his 80th birthday.

When the vengeful mood of the Francoists began to dissipate in 1942, Miró moved back to the family home in Barcelona. A little more than a decade later, however, he decided to return to Majorca. He bought a house, Son Abrines, on the outskirts of Palma and commissioned his friend Josep Luis Sert to design a grand studio alongside. In 1956, when he was 63, he made his final move to Majorca.

Miró tried his hand at ceramics, bronze sculpture, printmaking, book illustration, posters, costume design,

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even tapestry (an enormous tapestry fashioned in collaboration with Josep Royo now hangs in the East Building of the National Gallery of Art in Washington, D.C.). Just as the murals, posters, tapestries and monumental sculptures reached out to a wide audience, Miró's paintings also turned bolder to attract mass attention.

The Sert studio allowed him the luxury of laying many canvases on the floor and working on them as he stepped or crawled from one to another. When Miró showed us around the studio in 1978, there were perhaps a hundred canvases, most on the floor. He told us that he awoke every morning at 4 and let thoughts and feelings race through his mind in a preview of the day's work. He would fall asleep again at 7. Waking an hour later, he would move among the canvases in the study, carrying cups of paint. He worked first on those that had excited him during his early-morning meditation. His latest painting had taken a year to complete; other canvases had lain there unfinished even longer. After lunching with Pilar at 1:30 P.M., the 85-year-old Miró would nap for 20 minutes and then resume painting in the studio until 8:30. "Everything seems disorganized," he said, "but it is very organized."

Despite his support of the Spanish Republic and Catalan nationalism, Miró never struck a strong political pose like Picasso. But he did not avoid quiet stands of principle. At first, the Franco government tried to ignore him. "There was a total indifference," he said. As his worldwide fame increased, "they wanted to attract me toward them for their own convenience, but I would not go." The Francoists offered to appoint him the Spanish government's director of fine arts, but Miró refused. He also refused to cooperate with all attempts by the Spanish government to mount Miró exhibitions. He only allowed one retrospective in Spain, for his 75th birthday, but it was sponsored by the Barcelona city hall, not the Franco government in Madrid.

After Franco died in 1975, Spain could embrace Miró more easily. As Spain transformed itself from a dictatorship to a democracy, in one of the most remarkable political transitions in European history, Spain also began to reinterpret its culture and cultural heroes.

Spain had produced three world-renowned painters in the 20th century–Picasso, Salvador Dali and Miró–and it was time to reassess them at home. Picasso had painted the icon of Spanish democracy, *Guernica*, and almost every Spanish youth had tacked a reproduction of it onto a wall at home. The transfer of this mural from the Museum of Modern Art in New York to Madrid (first to the Prado and later to the Queen Sofia Center of Art) was one of the great political moments of the Spanish transition to democracy. But Picasso had died two years before Franco, without setting foot in Spain for four decades, and most Spaniards were not familiar with any of his work other than *Guernica*. In truth, though revered, he had become a distant figure.

Dali was alive in his native Catalonia, but he was ill and discredited and somewhat silly. He had supported

Museum of Modern Art

Deeply depressed by the Spanish Civil War, Miró painted the brooding *Still Life with Old Shoe* in 1937.

Franco during the dictatorship and had turned ever more eccentric; it was hard to take him seriously.

Miró, on the other hand, was alive, active, stable and committed to democracy. In 1978, the new Spanish government organized a retrospective for his 85th birthday. When he showed up, hundreds of young people surrounded and applauded him. "That was a pleasure," he said, "an intense pleasure, a reward." Soon Spaniards could sense Miró everywhere, painting his murals, erecting monumental sculptures, publishing posters and prints. All segments of Spanish society celebrated him. Somehow he managed to reflect both the greatness that Franco had sullied and the freshness that democracy promised. By the time he died in 1983, at the age of 90, he had become the grand painter of the new Spanish democracy.

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Art Wolfe

Mother and child are Masai, pastoral nomads who compete with game parks for Kenya's grazing land.

'We are here. We live'–a tribute to diverse cultures

The new book Endangered Peoples *looks at the plight of minorities whose ways of life–and sometimes whose lives themselves–are in peril*

"Many people have said that indigenous peoples are myths of the past, ruins that have died. But the indigenous community . . . is full of vitality and has a course and a future. It has much wisdom and richness to contribute," writes Rigoberta Menchú in her foreword to *Endangered Peoples,* published this month by Sierra Club Books. Menchú, recipient of the 1992 Nobel Peace Prize, is a Quiché from Guatemala who was forced to live in exile by her government because she sought rights for her people. She is one of an estimated 200 million to 250 million indigenous persons left in the world.

Cultural evolution, migration and assimilation have occurred throughout the ages, but recently the disappearance of distinct cultures has accelerated at an alarming rate. By some estimates as many as 200,000 indigenous people die every year of disease and malnutrition, altered habitat from development and deforestation, political persecution and discrimination, and internecine warfare and bloody land disputes. To give a face and a voice to those who survive, writer Art Davidson and several photographers traveled thousands of miles to record individual stories. As Menchú asserts, "They have not killed us and they will not kill us now. We are stepping forth to say, 'No, we are here. We live.'"

Endangered Peoples focuses on indigenous groups with both essays and photographs. Davidson has spent 25 years with native Alaskans, the Yup'ik and Cup'ik Eskimos on the Bering Sea coast. His experience is reflected in his commentary on them. In researching the book, Davidson dodged gunfire during the Philippine civil war to reach an Igorot village, while photographer Art Wolfe made clandestine trips into Sarawak escorted by tribesmen who were forbidden to talk to outsiders.

The book is a testament to the gifts of indigenous groups: their attachment and reverence for the land,

Art Wolfe

Indigenous elder is one of China's 70 million ethnic minorities, close to 7 percent of the total population. The Cultural Revolution systematically tried to destroy minority cultures, but now assimilation is advocated.

and the centrality of their families and communities to their lives. It is organized geographically. Individual voices recount the plight of Tibetans forced by the Chinese from their homeland; the courage of Penan tribesmen who try to block loggers from destroying their forest in Sarawak; the determination of Ainu activists seeking recognition from Japan; the struggle of the Lakota to revive their sacred Sun Dance, banned for most of this century by the U.S. Government.

In 1992 the first World Conference of Indigenous Peoples brought 400 delegates to Brazil. There they declared their desire "to walk to the future in the footprints of our ancestors." In support, the U.N. General Assembly proclaimed 1993 as the International Year for the World's Indigenous People. In a world dominated by the affairs of nations, cultural survival has yet to become a priority, but *Endangered Peoples* contributes to that goal.
Marlane A. Liddell

Myron Rosenberg

Ketyi Ekaterina is a Chukchi; these native Russians have recently lost half their population to tuberculosis.

Art Wolfe

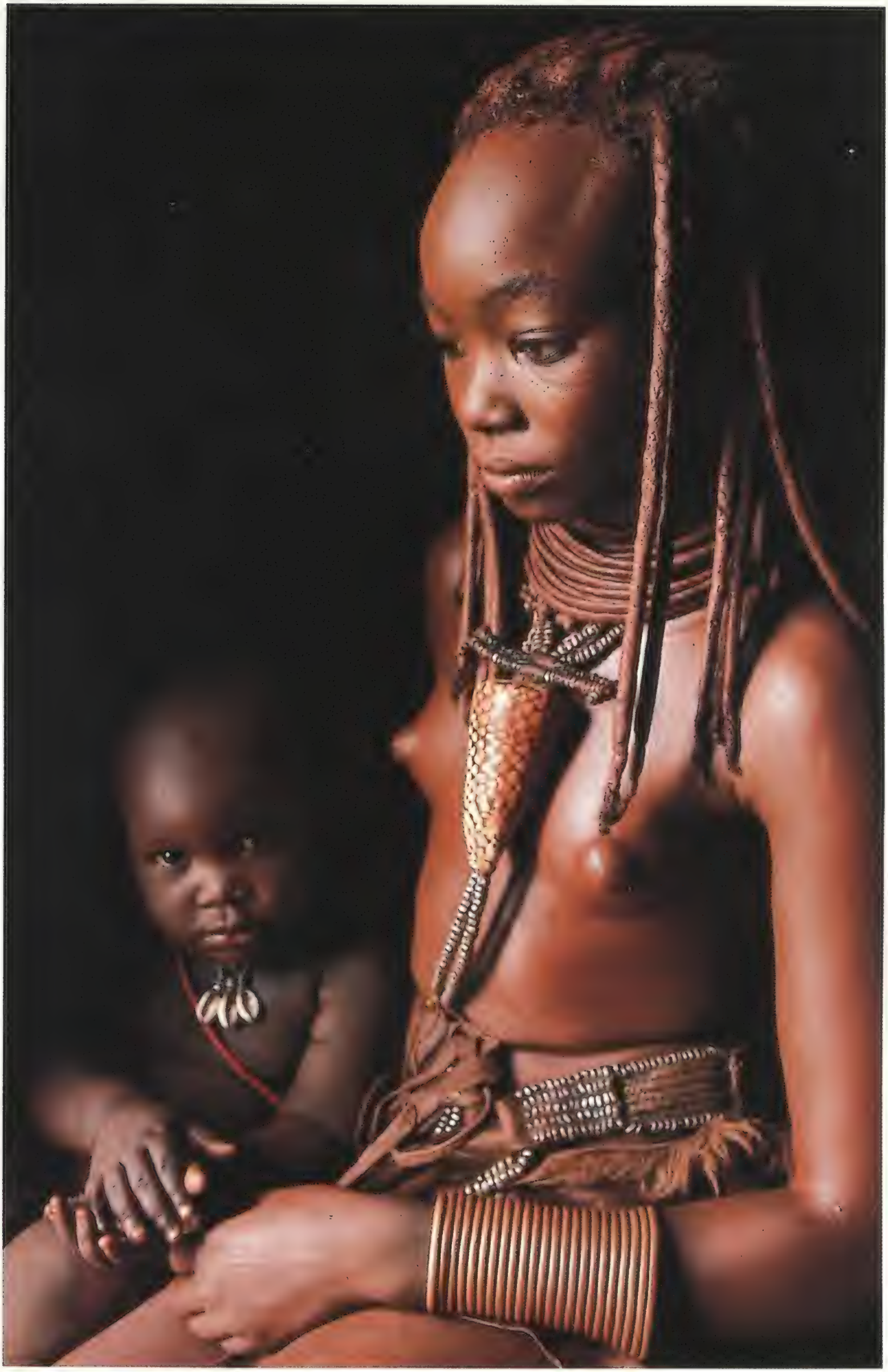
Peruvian Shimako carries bananas for shipment to Amazon River; his people have been assimilated.

Art Wolfe

Penan tribesmen roast freshly caught fish in Sarawak. Rampant logging in Malaysia threatens their culture.

In 1970 there were 13,000 nomadic Penan inhabiting the rain forest; now fewer than 350 still live there.

Ted Wood



Ocher mixed with fat gives red cast to hair and skin of a Himba woman who, with her brother, may be last generation of these seminomadic pastoralists to wander in Namibia and Angola.

All: Art Wolfe

Aboriginal boy proudly shows off a lace-backed goanna lizard, traditional delicacy that he caught himself. Many Aboriginal people are seeking independence from Australian government.

Malagasy men await a much-needed storm on their overused land. Madagascar has Africa's first Environmental Action Plan to help people manage their limited natural resources.

During the summer, this Tadjik family grazes livestock on China's western Himalayan Plain. In fall they pack up and move to the Taklimakan Desert. Exploitation of timber and valuable minerals threatens their culture.

Ted Wood

In December 1990, some 300 Lakota made a 200-mile ride in subzero weather to mark the 1890 massacre at Wounded Knee. The men carried staffs decorated with eagle feathers to commemorate the dead warriors.

Joseph Nettis

An Ainu couple was photographed earlier in this century on Hokkaido. So many Japanese have moved to the island that little remains of Ainu culture. Survivors struggle for independence. Lacandón girl (opposite) from Chiapas, Mexico, spears fish in one of the few wild areas left, where 450 Lacandón fight to save remnants of their rain forest from being razed.

Cindy Karp

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In San Francisco, a broker commutes to his office on his Fat Boy (top). In Daytona Beach, Florida (opposite), riders convene at a favorite hangout during Bike Week.

By Jon Krakauer

A Hog is still a hog, but the 'wild ones' are tamer

The Harley-Davidson motorcycle is as big and bad as ever. As for the bikers who won't ride anything else, hey–they're good folks

Long before I see them, I hear them: a deep, apocalyptic rumble, growing louder by the second, echoing across the Florida countryside like a harbinger of doom. They roar past an instant later in the left lane, two by two, a pack of 15 hairy men and three provocatively dressed women astride huge, gleaming motorcycles. Ten minutes down the highway another eight bikes thunder by, then three more, then five, then a dozen. As I approach the eastern terminus of Interstate 4, the bursts of passing motorcycles congeal into a nonstop stream, a river of growling, chrome-encrusted steel that slows as it thickens, finally choking to a gridlocked halt on the outskirts of Daytona Beach.

There is a smattering of automobiles trapped in this monumental traffic jam, a semitrailer or two, a handful of hapless RVs–but the overwhelming majority of the vehicles are big shiny Hogs. Milwaukee Iron. Harley-Davidson motorcycles, thousands upon thousands of Harleys, many of them customized into phantasmagorical personal statements, all of them bound for Daytona Beach,

which for ten days each spring becomes a mecca for the two-wheeled faithful. The annual rite is known as Bike Week, and in this, its 52d year, it has drawn an estimated 400,000 bikers and would-be bikers to Volusia County.

Daytona's Main Street is mobbed with unshaven pilgrims draped in chains and death's-head bandanas, displaying lurid tattoos, jostling their way from bar to bar. The din of revving engines is deafening. Blue clouds of exhaust smoke float across the Florida afternoon. The line between order and explosive mayhem seems perilously thin here; the town feels poised for a reenactment of *The Wild One*, the 1954 Stanley Kramer movie in which a small California burg is terrorized by Marlon Brando's motorcycle gang. The film's opening titles flash before my eyes: "This is a shocking story. It could never happen in most American towns–but it did in this one."

Outside a bar called Froggy's, a young policeman stands with his arms crossed, scanning the leather-clad throngs. When I ask the cop what he thinks of Bike Week, he surprises me by cracking a smile and saying,

Color photographs by Catherine Karnow

Willie G. Davidson, great-grandson of Harley cofounder, delights a fan by autographing her leather jacket.

Arthur Davidson's brother William (left) and William Harley return from a successful fishing trip.

"You want to know the truth? It's great. I look forward to it every year. Bikers are good folks, for the most part. Real friendly. No, it's not the bikers who make trouble for us, it's the college kids who'll be here for spring break. I'll take bikers over students anytime."

Taken aback, I wedge my way into the dark, sweaty chambers of the Boot Hill Saloon, one of the most hallowed temples of Hogdom, to mull over the officer's reply. Graffiti, motorcycle posters and ribald photographs cover every inch of wall space. Dozens of women's undergarments, donated by patrons in moments of inebriated abandon, dangle from the ceiling like mistletoe. It is not the sort of place where one asks to see the wine list.

I strike up a conversation with a beefy fellow in a tight black T-shirt that proclaims, "Die Yuppie Scum." His "scoot," he boasts, is a vintage 1952 Harley panhead: "Every spring I ride it down here from Philadelphia with the brothers. Eight of us made the run this time. A thousand miles each way. It's the high point of my year." When I ask what he does when he's not riding, he hesitates for a long beat, then confesses, "Uh, I'm an attorney. I do estate planning. Actually, all the brothers are attorneys, our entire posse."

Policemen singing bikers' praises? Motorcycle gangs comprising middle-aged lawyers with cellular phones in their saddlebags? Not so very long ago any shaggy guy on a Harley-Davidson was automatically assumed to be a rolling scourge, the archetypal American outlaw–"The Menace," as Hunter Thompson described him in *Hell's Angels*, "Genghis Khan on an iron horse, . . . flat out through the eye of a beer can and up your daughter's leg. . . ." What in the name of Peter Fonda is going on here? The simple answer is that the demographics of motorcycling have shifted dramatically over the past decade: ten years ago the median annual income of American motorcycle owners was $17,500; today it's more than $33,000. The larger truth, however, is that the biker subculture has always amounted to considerably more–and less–than the public has imagined it to be.

Although two German engineers, Gottlieb Daimler and Wilhelm Maybach, are credited with inventing the first modern motorcycle in 1885, the seeds of the vehicle's enduring mystique weren't really planted until 1901 in Milwaukee. That's where 21-year-old William S. Harley got together with his 20-year-old childhood friend Arthur Davidson to design a motorized bicycle. In 1903, with a workable design in hand, they erected a 10-foot-by-15-foot shed, painted "Harley-Davidson Motor Co." on the door and went into business as one of perhaps 15 American motorcycle manufacturers.

They built and sold just one motorcycle that first year, two more in 1904, another eight in 1905. Harley-Davidson quickly developed a reputation for building fast, unusually reliable motorcycles, however, and by 1910 annual production had jumped to 3,200 machines. By 1920, when production hit 28,189 bikes, Harley-Davidson was the largest motorcycle manufacturer in the world, with dealerships in 67 foreign countries.

Harley and Davidson launched their company to exploit what they saw as an immense need for practical, inexpensive transportation. At the time it never occurred to them that Henry Ford would soon be selling automobiles for significantly less than they could sell motorcycles, but by 1925 a dependable Ford Model T was retailing for a mere $285, compared with $325 for a 74-cubic-inch Harley-Davidson. Consumers turned

The author, who is based in Seattle, last wrote for SMITHSONIAN *on the Denver Art Museum (September 1993) and the Alaska Highway (July 1992).*

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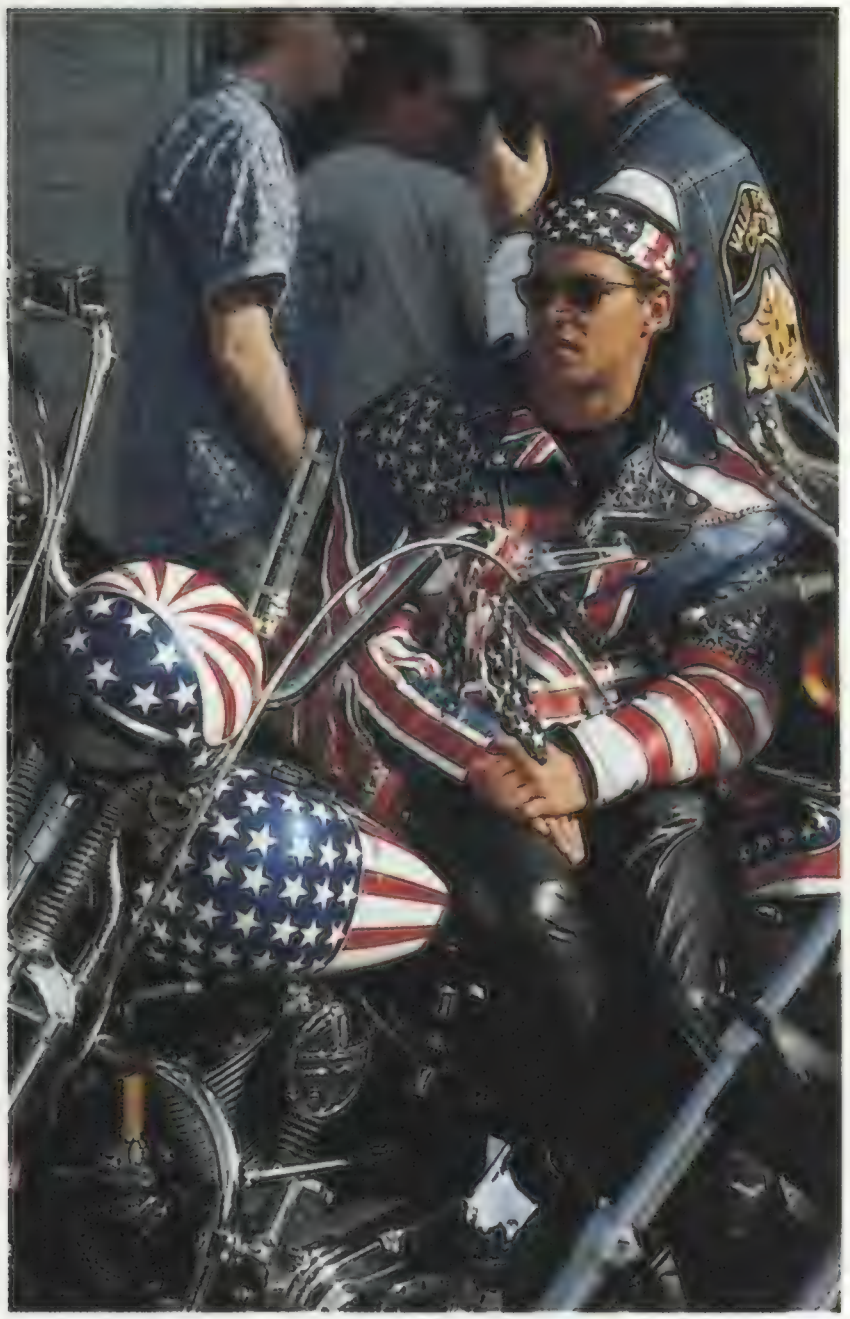
Kentuckian Jim Fisher displays his junked-up Harley, which won "World's Most Unusual" award at Daytona.



Patriotic colors enliven a Harley rider's costume, his helmet (between handlebars) and bike's gas tank.

their backs on motorcycles in favor of Ford's cheaper and eminently more practical product. Sales of Harley-Davidsons went into a tailspin, as did those of every other motorcycle company. By 1931, there were only two motorcycle manufacturers left in the United States–Harley-Davidson and Indian–and both were struggling mightily to survive the Great Depression.

It was during these difficult years, too, that Harley-Davidson experienced its first image problems. Anybody whose primary concern was cheap, sensible transportation purchased a car; those who bought motorcycles had other things in mind: fun, excitement, a yearning to buck convention. Many had a special fondness for speed. To maximize the performance of their machines, more than a few motorcyclists took to riding with "open pipes" (no mufflers), shattering the peace and scaring the bejesus out of bystanders.

Harley-Davidson grew so concerned about motorcycling's unsavory image that the company conducted a national advertising campaign that castigated those with open pipes as "boobs," and urged all motorcyclists to ride more responsibly "lest the entire wholesome sport of motorcycling be banished, like a leper, by legislation." As part of this campaign, Harley-Davidson made much of the fact that its motorcycles were widely used by the police for law enforcement. What the company didn't say was that Harleys, the fastest vehicles on the road during those Prohibition years, were even more popular with bootleggers, who fitted their bikes with sidecars to run loads of hooch.

Welcome home–and hit the road

Despite Harley-Davidson's best efforts, immediately following World War II motorcycling's public image went from bad to much, much worse. Between 1942 and 1945, the company had delivered 88,000 bikes to the military in support of the war effort. Many of the soldiers assigned to ride those Harleys fell in love with motorcycling and bought their own Harleys when the war ended. Accustomed to a damn-the-torpedoes, wartime riding style and eager to blow off steam upon their release from the military, not every G.I. was a paragon of responsibility when he returned to civilian roads.

Bands of young men on unmuffled Harleys, weaving through traffic at reckless speeds, became a common sight on America's highways. Once-innocent weekend motorcycle rallies routinely degenerated into rambunctious bacchanals. And then, on July 4, 1947, came the coup de grace: the Hollister riot.

Hollister, California, nestled in the foothills of the Diablo Range south of San Francisco Bay, was a quiet farming community of some 4,000 souls. Every year, as part of the town's Independence Day celebrations, Hollister staged motorcycle races open to all comers. In

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Workers assemble Harleys in York, Pennsylvania, plant. Engines and transmissions are still made in Milwaukee.

1947 an estimated 4,000 bikers arrived for the event, the beer started flowing and the ensuing festivities exploded into anarchy. By nightfall, drunken bikers were holding drag races up and down Main Street, openly defying Hollister's seven-man police force, brawling with local residents and looting bars.

The press had a field day covering the story. Wire services spread breathless accounts of the riot from coast to coast. *Life* magazine ran a full-page photograph of a porcine reveler astride a Harley, a long-neck beer clutched in each of his meaty fists, another dozen empties strewn beneath his wheels. Hollister, with help from the media, had given the world a new, uniquely American archetype: the outlaw biker. Forever after, in the minds of many, a Harley would be the very symbol of lawlessness and depravity.

The cinematic potential of the outlaw biker was not lost on Hollywood. *The Wild One*, directly inspired by the Hollister melee, was the first in a long string of biker flicks. In the movie Marlon Brando plays Johnny, the charismatic leader of the Black Rebel Motorcycle Club. In one famous scene a brassy local girl asks him, "Hey, Johnny, what are you rebelling against?"

"Whaddaya got?" a scowling Brando replies–instantly transforming the outlaw biker into an existential hero, a spokesman for disaffected youth the world over.

Thanks to Brando, millions of filmgoers saw bikers in a romantic new light–just as many others remained convinced that Johnny and his kind were vermin, that "if you don't get tough with them the minute they get out of line," as a minor character states in the film, "you're sunk." Worried that *The Wild One* would inspire a rash of violence, authorities tried to limit its distribution.

Whether they admired Brando's character or reviled him, the public continued to identify Harley-Davidson motorcycles as the most vivid symbol of his ilk. This, despite the fact that Brando didn't even ride a Harley in the film. Nobody seemed to notice that his steed was actually a Triumph, a British make.

The main perpetrators of the Hollister riot belonged to a club that called itself the Booze Fighters, one of dozens of motorcycle gangs that started appearing in police reports during the postwar years. The most notorious of these, of course, was the Hell's Angels, founded in Fontana, California, in 1950.

The Angels dressed in greasy leather and unwashed denim, their "colors"–an embroidered winged-skull logo–worn defiantly across their backs. They rode Harleys exclusively (as explicitly stipulated in the Angels bylaws), which they customized into "choppers" by modifying the frame and stripping it of every unnecessary accessory: windshield, fenders, crash bars, front brakes, spotlights, saddlebags. Doing so could reduce the weight of a stock 700-pound Harley to as little as 500 pounds, increasing the bike's speed. To the Angels, any

Miguel Luis Fairbanks

Crowd watches as Harley balloon owned by the late publisher and biker Malcolm Forbes gets pumped up for a 50th-anniversary celebration of the annual Black Hills Motorcycle Classic held in Sturgis, South Dakota.

bikes that weren't stripped down to racing trim were "garbage wagons."

Thanks to the news media, the threat the Hell's Angels posed to society was grossly exaggerated, but there is no denying that the Angels of the 1960s and '70s were responsible for a host of heinous crimes. They made a habit of abusing drugs and alcohol, they stole wantonly, committed countless physical assaults, and occasionally raped and murdered. Worried that they were doing irreparable damage to the image of motorcycling's law-abiding majority, the American Motorcycle Association launched a public relations crusade, repeatedly pointing out that outlaw bikers comprised less than 1 percent of the motorcycle-riding population. The Angels took that as a compliment and proudly began wearing patches identifying themselves as "one-percenters."

The Harley-Davidson Motor Company was nervous about the close association between the Angels and Hogs, and the effect it might have on motorcycle sales, but the corporation was even more concerned about a new and much greater threat posed by the Japanese. Ironically, three decades earlier Harley-Davidson had played a pivotal role in launching Japan's motorcycle industry. Strapped for cash in the middle of the Great Depression, in 1932 the company signed a contract with a Japanese businessman, selling him blueprints for all of Harley's models, as well as all the tools, dies and special machinery required for the manufacture of those motorcycles. The price for the whole package was $32,320. The Japanese began cranking out Harley facsimiles under the Rikuo trademark and thereby gained a toehold.

The Japanese assault on the American motorcycle market began in 1959 with the introduction of a tiny 50cc Honda that had an electric starter. As easy to master as a bicycle, it appealed to a cross section of the population that would never have considered climbing aboard a kick-start, 1200cc Harley, and the dirt-cheap Hondas sold in astounding numbers. Many of those who learned to ride on these scaled-down motorcycles inevitably got the itch for something a little bigger and a little faster, and when they did, the Japanese were ready for them, shipping slightly larger motorcycles to their American dealers with each succeeding year. By the mid-'70s, Japan was producing big displacement bikes that competed directly with Harley's market niche, ran better and cost much less. Soon, Harley-Davidson's share of the overall American market plummeted.

By then, Harleys had acquired a reputation for leaking oil, breaking down and rattling themselves to pieces. Although reliability had been a problem for years, the situation got worse after 1969, when the fami-

ly-owned operation was bought by American Machine & Foundry (AMF), a mammoth conglomerate. In an attempt to compete with the Japanese onslaught, AMF substantially increased the number of bikes produced at Harley's antiquated Wisconsin factory, but 50 to 60 percent of those machines failed to pass inspection as they came off the assembly line.

In 1981 AMF sold Harley-Davidson back to 13 of the company's executives. For several years, the firm teetered on the edge of bankruptcy, but eventually the new owners turned it around. Outdated assembly lines were reconfigured. Modern management techniques were adopted. When a new 1340cc engine, christened the Evolution, proved to be infinitely more reliable than its predecessors, Hog sales took off. In 1992 the company's revenues topped $1 billion for the first time. As Harley-Davidson prepared to celebrate its 90th anniversary last summer, it had reclaimed more than half of the American superheavyweight market and couldn't make bikes fast enough to meet the demand.

There is something puzzling about this sensational resurgence. Owners of lightweight, high-tech, radically streamlined Japanese machines look down their noses at the Harley's anachronistic design, ostentatious styling and avoirdupois. Japan's top-of-the-line bikes can go faster than 160 miles per hour. A Hog's engineering remains relatively primitive, and although it will get to 90 in a hurry, the top speed of an unmodified machine is barely 100 mph. But the very things that the owners of foreign bikes sneer at are cherished by Harley devotees.

A Hog's tawdry chrome trappings and squat, hulking lines make the faithful swoon; one of Harley-Davidson's best-selling models is actually called the Fat Boy. Even the infamous Harley vibration is treasured by Hog aficionados. The company sells several smoother-running models with rubber-mounted engines, but it continues to produce hard-mounted models, such as the Fat Boy, because that's what many riders prefer. Having your fillings loosened by the V-twin engine is considered an essential part of the Harley experience.

The throb of a Hog's throaty idle launches true believers to the heights of ecstasy. "A Harley sounds like nothing else on the road," insists Californian Marc Coletti, the owner of a bright blue '92 Hog. "When I'm in my car and I hear that rumble, I'll turn to my 3-year-old daughter and ask her, 'Kimberly, what's that?' And she'll immediately answer, 'A Harley, Daddy! A Harley!' She can recognize a Harley miles away."

In the minds of many, a Harley isn't just a motorcycle, it's an object of religious devotion. Thousands of worshipers around the world, maybe millions, have tattooed the most intimate corners of their bodies with the Harley-Davidson corporate logo. They wear official Harley sunglasses, boots, even boxer shorts.

There is a corollary aspect to Harley fanaticism that makes some people uncomfortable: a visceral dislike of Japanese machines. This animosity receives its fullest expression at an annual Bike Week ceremony known as the "Bike Bash." Some 30,000 bikers have massed at a two-acre indoor-outdoor bar called Gilly's Pub 44 to drink beer and take turns beating a 750cc Japanese bike into scrap with a sledgehammer for a dollar a swing, with the proceeds donated to the Easter Seal Society. The biggest cheers of the evening erupt when 6-year-old Eric Swanson of Loxahatchee, Florida, knocks off

In 1969 film *Easy Rider*, Dennis Hopper (left), Peter Fonda and Jack Nicholson give low choppers a high profile.

Marlon Brando, starring in *The Wild One* (1954), leads a gang of outlaw bikers who terrorize a small town.

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This two-fisted drinker appeared on *Life* magazine's cover after 1947 biker riot in Hollister, California.

one of the tail pipes. "Boy," Eric beams upon relinquishing the eight-pound hammer, "that felt good!"

"Eric took his first ride on a Harley at the age of 2," boasts his father, George Worthen. "Shoot," he says with a nod toward Susan Swanson, his visibly pregnant wife, "his brother's been riding for seven months now, and he ain't even born yet."

Given Bike Week's pointedly xenophobic ambience, I am startled to bump into a young Japanese man. Attired in regulation biker garb, "Mickey" Toru-Takami tells me in broken English that he is president of a Harley club in Tokyo and owns a Harley shop there called Flying-V. "The Harley is very popular in Japan," he says. "The Japanese don't hit Harleys with hammers."

The sartorial whims of the crowd at Gilly's run to fringed leather, heavy boots, tight black T-shirts, minuscule bikini tops, nose rings, nipple rings, multiple ear studs, death's-head jewelry and enough chains to restrain a herd of elephants. The effect can be intimidating to a nonbiker, but few people in this gathering belong to outlaw gangs or have committed any crime more serious than exceeding the speed limit. "We're just ordinary working folks is all," explains a gap-toothed 45-year-old roofer who calls himself "Snake." "Instead of playing golf or tennis when the weekend comes, though, we like to go for a nice long ride."

Dennis Maguire, now one of Bike Week's biggest boosters, bought the Boot Hill Saloon in 1974, before it became known as a biker hangout. "The first year I owned the place," he confesses, "I kept the doors shut during Bike Week because I'd heard bikers were bad news. I stayed open the next year. It worked out great, and today the Boot is synonymous with Bike Week."

The police used to adopt a very confrontational approach during Bike Week, Maguire recalls. "Finally, in 1988 a bunch of us businessmen got together and said, 'This is ridiculous. Bike Week is good for Daytona Beach.' We started explaining to the town fathers that bikers spend a whole lot of money here. It took a few years, but attitudes gradually changed. Now the chief of police rides with Willie G. at the head of the big motorcycle parade that wraps up the week."

Even Elvis was a Harley buff

"Willie G.," as he is known to every biker on the planet, is William G. Davidson, the congenial 59-year-old great-grandson of company cofounder Arthur Davidson. Wearing a skull-and-crossbones lapel pin and his trademark beret, he is mobbed by well-wishers and autograph seekers wherever he appears during Bike Week. As Harley-Davidson's vice president of styling, Willie G. created the retro look of the current generation of Hogs. He is also a biker's biker who logs thousands of miles in the saddle every year. "I've been riding down to Bike Week from Milwaukee every spring for 30 years now," he tells me. "These bikes aren't just my job, they're my family, they're my life. I'm a lucky guy."

Willie G. is a hero to the working-class men and women who have traditionally formed the bedrock of the Harley faithful. He has also become a hero to a relatively new subspecies of Hog fanatic, the so-called rich urban biker. There have always been Harley buffs among the rich and famous–Malcolm Forbes, Steve McQueen, Clark Gable, Elvis Presley, Jay Leno, Arnold Schwarzenegger–but owning a $15,000 Harley and a set of prescuffed leathers has lately caught the fancy of ordinary doctors, lawyers and businessmen as well.

At a campground south of Daytona Beach staked out by the American Brotherhood Aimed Toward Education (ABATE), guys who don't wear ties to work and have been taking apart old Harleys since before they needed to shave aren't sure what to make of the swarms of yuppies who have bought their way into the club. ABATE is an organization that lobbies to repeal helmet laws and protect bikers' rights; among the 4,000 bikers who stay at the campground are many of Bike Week's roughest characters.

Here, in a muddy field crowded with tents and motorcycles, a short, muscular man named D. Q. Roberts tells me that he and most of his associates resent the ease with which rich urban bikers are able to buy expensive new Harleys. "Most of them are just poseurs," D. Q. says.

"They aren't really into the biker lifestyle. But I think the rich guys are doing a lot to erase some harmful biker stereotypes, so I like 'em. Now people don't automatically assume that every brother on a Harley is a criminal; for all they know he could own a Fortune 500 corporation."

Shortly after sunrise on the final Saturday of Bike Week, I climb onto a Harley Heritage Softail, steer it out of town and twist back the throttle on a deserted road. Nobody would mistake me for a real biker; I'm just a pencilneck journalist on a rented Hog. As the speedometer creeps upward and the throb of the twin pistons starts to massage my spine, I'm reminded why so many people feel so passionately about these machines.

I am also reminded, as the pavement whizzes along inches beneath my heels, that motorcycles are dangerous. During the past few days, seven bikers have died on Volusia County highways, and Bike Week isn't over yet. In truth, however, risk is an essential part of riding's appeal. It heightens the senses and focuses the mind.

Rumbling through the Florida morning with the wind in my face, I lean easily into sweeping turns and hold the throttle open down long straightaways. The rush of cool salt air clears my head of everything but the road ahead.

Nine months ago I rode a different Harley from New York to San Francisco. For a few days en route, my companions and I were joined by Paul Pascarella, an artist from Taos, New Mexico. Paul, a hard-riding biker with a gray ponytail, viewed motorcycling as a form of therapy. "The way I see it," he explained one evening, "life has been deteriorating ever since the Industrial Revolution. A motorcycle is a tool for turning the Machine Age back on itself, for removing its shackles. It won't fix everything that's wrong with the world, but, hey, any time you can cut loose on a Harley for a couple of days, or even just a couple of hours, it's definitely a move in the right direction."

Quartet of female bikers in California's tony Marin County–three lawyers and one businesswoman–strikes a sharp contrast with the unsavory stereotype that the Hollister riot and other events helped perpetuate.

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Article and photographs by Terry Domico

The faster a 'roo' travels, the more energy it saves

Hop, hop, hop. Long after most other animals would have collapsed from exhaustion, the kangaroo just keeps going and going and going

When the horizon began changing from crimson to bright orange, it was the signal that sunrise was very near. Shivering with cold, I crawled out of the domed tent that had been my roving home for many months and scanned the Australian plain for signs of life. At first I thought I saw several clusters of people standing here and there, but as the light cleared I realized that I was looking at knots of alert gray kangaroos. They seemed to be waiting for something.

Two emus walked out of the woods beside me, booming their deep call: *Thub . . . thub . . . thub.* The kangaroos hardly seemed to notice. Then the fiery disk of the sun began rising from the land. That must have been the cue the kangaroos were waiting for, because all of them started moving across the grassy expanse. Leaving their nightly feeding grounds, they were hopping in dozens of ragged lines for the daytime shelter of the eucalyptus forest near my hidden camp. Several quietly passed close by and soon the plain lay empty and glaringly hot.

For more than a week I watched that spectacle repeat itself each sunrise. I was doing research for a book on kangaroos, and the odd juxtaposition of those otherworldly creatures with that humdrum daily routine struck me as utterly fascinating. But then, what isn't fascinating about kangaroos? Of all the exotic animals on this planet, few seem as extraordinary as the one that is synonymous with the "land down under."

If you had never seen or heard of the kangaroo, you probably wouldn't believe me if I were to describe a human-size mammal with a deerlike head, rabbitlike ears, grasshopperlike hind legs and tiny squirrel-like forelegs, an animal that can jump 35 feet in a single bound, that licks its forearms to keep cool and that delivers karate chops to its rivals. It's ridiculous, of course–but it's also true.

Kangaroos are controversial as well as improbable. They are a living symbol of the Australian Commonwealth, appearing on its coat of arms and its money. Most Aussies love them dearly. On the other hand, they are regarded as a serious nuisance by ranchers, a cash crop by professional hunters and a valuable resource by firms that produce pet food and leather goods.

Over the years, several international conservation groups have campaigned against the commercial harvesting of kangaroos. In 1974 the United States put three species on its list of endangered and threatened wildlife. Earlier this year, however, the Interior Department's U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service proposed to remove those species from the list, setting off yet another round of arguments and counterarguments over the animals' status.

People have been getting excited about kangaroos for centuries. The first recorded observation was made in 1629 by a Dutch navigator, Francisco Pelsaert, whose ship, the *Batavia*, was wrecked off western Australia. It wasn't until after 1770, however, that the word "kangaroo" began to be generally known. As legend has it, an Aborigine used the term when the intrepid English explorer Captain James Cook asked what the creature was called. There is now some evidence that "kangaroo" actually meant "I don't understand" in that particular native's tongue.

The discovery of kangaroos caused a great sensation in England. Everybody wanted to see one. After several failed attempts, a live specimen finally was displayed in 1791, and Londoners practically stormed the Lyceum Theatre for a look at it.

Back in Australia, it didn't take long for the novelty to wear off. Kangaroos were valued as food by the early settlers but were soon being damned. "So much have these animals increased in late years," one observer complained in 1863, "that if measures are not speedily taken against them, they threaten to overrun the district. At present they swarm in every part of it. Many of the sheep farmers believe they have nearly as many kangaroos on their ranches as sheep."

Measures were speedily taken and are still being taken today. But although most landowners want the animals to be kept under control, they do not want

Silhouetted against the morning sky, a lone kangaroo bounces across a prairie in Australia's fabled outback.

Marjorie Wilson, director of the Kangaroo Protection Coop in Sydney, comforts an abandoned young red roo.

A joey peers from its mother's pouch (left) as a mob of gray kangaroos grazes near a house in Queensland.

them to be eliminated altogether. "Yes, I have shooters on my property almost every night because these roos are getting completely out of hand," one rancher told me. If they were entirely removed from his place, however, he would be very upset. "Hell, to be perfectly honest, mate, I'm rather fond of the damned things."

Kangaroos are limited in distribution to Australia (including Tasmania), and New Guinea and a number of smaller offshore islands, but they occupy an astonishing variety of habitats. Some dwell in the desert, where they are able to get all of the moisture they need from the plants they eat. Others are precisely adapted to life in the rain forest; the dorcopsis, a New Guinea forest wallaby, for example, squats rather than sits, probably to avoid the troublesome leeches that proliferate on the swampy jungle floor. Some species are as small as large rats; others stand seven feet tall.

Not surprisingly, given this tremendous diversity, scientists have long debated how kangaroos should be classified. Originally they were grouped with the rodents. Two centuries later they were placed in the same family as opossums. More recently they have been given their own family, Macropodidae, which is named after their common characteristic–big feet.

It is generally agreed that the kangaroo family tree has three main living branches: the musky rat kangaroo (the smallest of the kangaroo species, which lives mainly on the ground); the bettongs and potoroos (the real rat kangaroos); and macropods, the so-called true kangaroos (which include all the tree kangaroos, wallabies and larger kangaroos). Altogether, depending on whom you believe, there are somewhere between 49 and 95 species.

Often overlooked when people talk about kangaroos are the smaller macropods. This is a pity because these creatures are actually a more varied and interesting lot than their larger cousins. Several species of tree kangaroos, for example, function much the same as monkeys, nimbly seeking out their food high up in the rain forest canopy. The 11 known species of rock wallabys may represent a leading edge of macropod evolution. Like mountain goats, they have adapted to life on steep slopes and rocky cliffs. Although they are small creatures, weighing less than 20 pounds, some can make astonishing leaps of from 15 to 20 feet from one precarious perch to another.

In everyday parlance, the term "kangaroo" refers to just six species of giant macropods: the common, black

Terry Domico lives on Bainbridge Island near Seattle. This article is adapted from his new book Kangaroos: The Marvelous Mob *(Facts on File).*

While a caller uses phone near Katherine Gorge in Northern Territory, a wallaby noses around outside.

and antilopine wallaroos, the eastern and western gray kangaroos, and the red kangaroo. These animals generally occupy sparsely wooded grasslands, but they can also be found in forests and exceedingly hot, dry habitats. Primarily nocturnal, they spend most of the day lying in the shade, grooming themselves and occasionally venturing out to graze.

The name "wallaroo" reflects the popular notion that these creatures are about midway in size between a big wallaby and a small kangaroo, though in fact males in this group sometimes grow to a height of four feet and a weight of up to 110 pounds. The common wallaroo is probably the most widespread macropod. Western and eastern gray kangaroos are distinguished in part from others by their finely haired muzzles. Red kangaroos are the largest; males may weigh nearly 200 pounds. Superbly adapted to arid conditions, the red kangaroo is found over most of the central and western districts of Australia, primarily in open country. It is a social species, living in seminomadic groups called "mobs." These groups sometimes contain several hundred individuals.

Kangaroos could not have ended up in a more appropriate place; Australia is as difficult to classify as they are. Roughly the size of the contiguous United States, it contains fewer people than the state of New York. It is considered the world's flattest continent, yet its varied landscape boasts spectacular gorges and mountain ranges. It is famous for being a parched land where rivers run only with sand, but it also features some of the world's outstanding rain forests.

Nearly everything about Australia confounded the convicts, gold miners, timbermen and ranchers who settled it. The seasons were inverted. The names–names like Gundagai and Mooloolah, Murrumbidgee and Goondiwindi–were unpronounceable. The trees were so hard they split axes. Some 600 Aboriginal tribes eked out a living in regions that often appeared uninhabitable to newcomers, and each tribe spoke a different language. And then there were the animals. From the egg-laying mammal called the platypus to the wombat (a somewhat bearlike marsupial) and the wallaby, they were, as the Australian writer Thomas Keneally puts it, "absurd and from before the Ark."

How kangaroos got to Australia is a story in itself. It begins some 200 million years ago when (or so the theory goes) all of Earth's continents were united in a single landmass called Pangaea. After Pangaea broke in two, the southern part, Gondwanaland, drifted toward the South Pole where it, too, began to break up. Africa and India departed first, leaving Australia connected to South America and Antarctica. Around 60 million to 65

million years ago, Australia (together with part of New Guinea) broke loose and began drifting north. By then it had been colonized by a group of mammals that raised their young in pouches. Secure on their continental raft, the stowaways blossomed into numerous forms that exploited all available living spaces, from treetop to ground level.

Some of those marsupials were little bounders that browsed on leaves or foraged for insects. Eventually they began hopping on their hind legs as a means of locomotion, freeing their front paws for tasks like manipulating food and grooming.

When Australia began to undergo severe climatic change, the center of the continent dried out. Prairies developed, and some marsupials moved out of the forests to become denizens of those new grasslands. They changed their diet, grew larger, demonstrated more gregarious behavior–became, in effect, kangaroos.

And what is it that makes a kangaroo a kangaroo?

Well first, of course, there's that hop. Any animal that moves by means of a quick, springy leap can be said to hop. Rabbits hop, frogs hop, grasshoppers hop. But nothing hops like a kangaroo.

The very first roo I saw was hopping. Actually, there were several of them. A companion and I were driving along a dirt road through the flat sheep-ranching country of New South Wales when suddenly a troop of six gray kangaroos bounced in front of our vehicle and proceeded to keep pace alongside the driver's door. For a few moments we stared wide-eyed at their leaping bodies. The setting sun outlined their furry coats with a halo of golden light. I could hear the soft *thump . . . thump* as their feet hit the ground. We could almost reach out and touch the nearest animal. Abruptly the group changed direction, jumped the fence bordering the road and disappeared into the darkening woods.

There's a lot more to this hopping business than meets the eye. Kangaroos do not actually hop on their feet per se; they hop on the enlarged fourth toe, and to a lesser extent on the fifth toe. The first toe has all but disappeared, while the inner second and third toes have fused together to form a double claw that's used primarily as a fur-grooming comb. When hopping, the kangaroo employs its tail as a counterbalance to its upper body, which pivots on the large, springlike hind legs. The up-and-down action of the tail of a hopping kangaroo looks a lot like an old-fashioned pump handle being worked. The hopping motion also activates a kind of internal "visceral piston," which pumps air in and out of the lungs, thus saving on muscle effort.

The biggest kangaroos, the reds, cruise somewhere between 15 and 20 miles per hour. At these speeds, a hopping kangaroo conserves energy far more efficiently than an animal running the same speed on four legs. In fact, because of the elastic storage of energy in its tendons, a hopping kangaroo continues to use less energy as its speed increases. Within normal ranges, kangaroos increase their speed by increasing their stride

Monkeylike Matschie's tree kangaroo lives in New Guinea.

Grizzled tree kangaroo spends a fair amount of time on the ground.

Like mountain goats, yellow-footed rock wallabies are nimble climbers.

length, not their hopping frequency. Above cruising speeds, though, the energy costs start rising. In an emergency a red kangaroo may accelerate to more than 40 miles per hour, but it cannot maintain such speeds for much more than a few hundred yards.

Kangaroos can also put their legs to good use as weapons. Fighting does not occur often, but when two evenly matched males square off over a female that is coming into heat, the results can be impressive. The challenge is given when one animal approaches another and stands upright. Once such a challenge is accepted, the combatants grapple, using their forefeet to paw at the opponent's head, shoulders and throat. As the action becomes more heated, one or both opponents may lean back on their powerful tails and deliver heavy kicks with their hind feet. These blows are usually aimed at the abdomen, and they land (when they land) with a heavy thud. Serious contenders may battle for ten minutes or more before the loser withdraws. The worst injuries are a few scratches or a torn ear.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries, before adverse public opinion rendered such exhibitions obsolete, American circuses sometimes featured well-advertised contests matching professional boxers against trained kangaroos. Those bizarre events often attracted large crowds because the kangaroos nearly always put up a spirited defense. There have been a couple of instances recently, at a campground in Victoria's Grampians National Park, of people provoking kangaroos into taking a swipe at them, but the animals rarely (if ever) attack humans on their own.

Another thing that makes a kangaroo a kangaroo is its pouch. While other marsupials, such as koalas and wombats, have pouches that open toward the rear, the kangaroo pouch opens forward to prevent the baby from falling out when the mother is hopping.

At birth, the red kangaroo is barely the size of a bean. The first thing it does upon emergence from the birth canal is crawl toward the pouch, a journey of several inches that takes two or three minutes to complete. Once the infant has reached its destination, it closes its tiny mouth over the end of a nipple, which then expands inside the mouth, locking the baby firmly in place. Thus nourished and protected, the tiny "joey" continues its development, remaining secure in the warm confines of the pouch.

After several months, the youngster starts spending more and more time playing outside. When it wants to reenter the pouch, the mother obligingly bends over and spreads her forelegs. The joey approaches from the front and tumbles in, turning a complete somersault so that its head ends up near the opening.

The end of pouch life comes suddenly. When the red kangaroo joey is about 8 months old, the mother simply shoves it away. It can continue to nurse for a while but it can't climb back into the pouch. It's time to grow up. Besides, another baby is on the way.

One question always seemed to provoke a good argu-

Endangered bridled nail-tail is found only in a Queensland refuge.

Spectacled hare-wallaby reminded colonists of the hares in Europe.

The size of a big house cat, rufous rat kangaroo will fight a predator.

Shooters unload roo carcasses from trucks at a buying station in New South Wales. About five million animals are shot each year. The skins are used to make belts and other leather goods.

ment in every Australian pub I visited: Just how smart is a kangaroo? Opinions varied widely. Some people insisted that the animals were extremely cunning; others compared their brainpower to that of sheep or goats. A number of the country people I spoke with maintained that a kangaroo has the intelligence of a fencepost.

There have been few scientific studies, and the results of those have been inconclusive, but they do demonstrate that kangaroos are smart enough to learn simple tasks and also have some capacity for visual learning and memorizing. A German scientist, Gerd-Heinrich Neumann, taught a red kangaroo to differentiate between seven pairs of different designs or colors. Selecting the correct choice from each pair led to a food reward. Neumann conducted similar tests with an opossum, which was only able to differentiate between two pairs of stimuli. While the kangaroo was able to remember six of the seven correct pair choices after 160 days, the opossum had completely forgotten what it had learned after four weeks.

Many people presume macropods to be lower in brainpower than perhaps they really are. An often cited example: kangaroos fleeing from wild dogs will let themselves be trapped against a fence that they could easily jump. But porpoises, which are considered to be highly intelligent, will drown if surrounded by a purse net, even though they could easily jump over the floating cork line to freedom. Apparently the panic caused by man-made barriers sometimes does animals in, but that may not have anything to do with their intelligence.

Kangaroos have excellent eyesight, especially those living in fairly open country. With large eyes located on either side of a narrow head, they have a wide field of vision. Like most grazing animals, they seem to be particularly good at detecting movement. They also have good night vision and appear to possess at least some color perception.

A kangaroo's hearing is very keen and may be its most important sense for monitoring the environment. The two large ears can be rotated independently; often one will point forward while the other faces toward the rear. A grazing kangaroo will frequently stop and raise its head to look around and listen. Even when it is lying down, its ears are in constant motion.

While all kangaroos hop and raise their young in pouches, they do not all eat the same thing. The small species, such as bettongs and rat kangaroos, are somewhat omnivorous but tend to rely on certain highly nutritious foods, such as underground fungi. The medium-sized wallabies consume a wide variety of leafy vegetation. The larger kangaroos are true grazers; they specialize in eating grass, and this is what gets them in trouble.

When the first telegraph line crossed the Australian continent in 1872, the first messages to be transmitted had to do with the prices of wool in Europe. Wool was destiny in Australia. Just as cattle inherited the prairies of the American West from the buffalo and the pronghorn, sheep became the pride of the outback. Anything that would, could or conceivably might compete with them for space, water or forage was designated a pest and dealt with accordingly. Early on, the grass-eating kangaroo was given similar status.

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Students staged and filmed dramatic enactments of each of the rights and freedoms guaranteed in the Bill. They also taped interviews of students and local community leaders on the subject, "What the Bill of Rights Means to Me." Even the final editing and scoring was left to the students.

And their hard work has paid off. Their 8-minute video is a big hit with students at neighboring schools. And it is with us, too. State Farm is honored to present Martha with our Good Neighbor Award, along with a contribution of $5,000 to her school.

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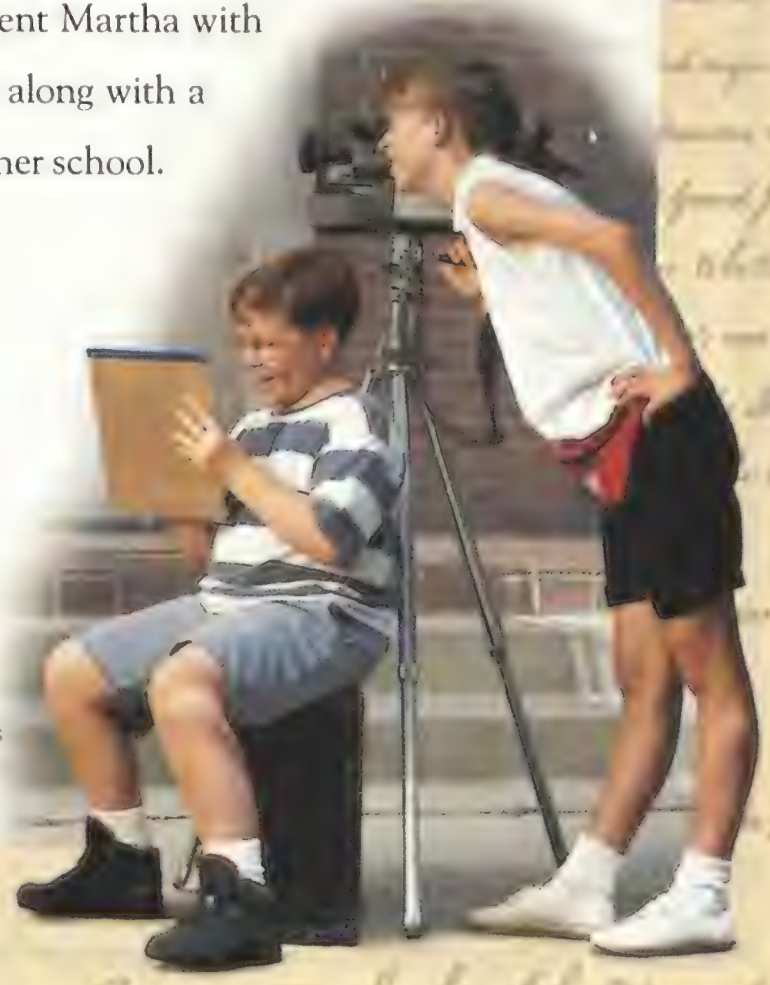

The Good Neighbor Award was developed in cooperation with the National Council for Social Studies.

Parma wallaby relaxes with youngster in pouch. The joey will be evicted shortly before a new baby is born.

Today the Australian government insists that there is enough information about kangaroo populations to cull the animals while preserving their long-term viability. Conservationists and animal-rights activists who challenge that assertion say the kangaroo's reputation as a pest has been vastly overblown. Moreover, they allege, the methods used to kill the animals are inhumane.

One night Ted Heineman and I bounced on the seat in his truck's cab as we drove slowly over a bumpy dirt track. Heineman is a professional roo shooter. His helper was flicking the powerful beam of a roof-mounted searchlight back and forth across the dark landscape. Not long before, we had seen the eyes of sheep glowing green in the dark. Now we saw two big male kangaroos. Ted rested his powerful rifle across the padded armrest on the driver's door and squeezed off two shots. Two hits. We picked up the carcasses and moved on. There were 11 dead kangaroos on the truck. All had been shot in the head and killed instantly.

Ted told me he would have to bag nine more animals that night just to break even. "Last year I shot about 8,000 roos," he said. "That brought in a gross of something around $40,000, but then I had to deduct my expenses from that." Whereas Ted is a full-time hunter, most of the 1,600 registered kangaroo shooters in Australia are part-timers.

The number of kangaroos a shooter can bag is limited by a quota system based on population estimates derived from aerial surveys. The unlicensed weekend shooters who kill kangaroos just for fun are not constrained by such considerations. This is usually illegal, and the animals are left in the field to rot. No one knows how many kangaroos are destroyed this way, but one estimate puts the number into the millions.

Kangaroo parts have been a commercial commodity since Australia's early colonial days. Skins destined to become leather are still the most valued product.

They are exported to Germany, Italy, Japan and other countries for tanning and use in the manufacture of shoes, wallets, belts and sporting goods. Kangaroo meat is still marketed mainly as pet food, but there is a growing demand for its use by humans.

Killing roos makes some people jumpy

Some conservationists are charging that the primary reason five million kangaroos are killed each year is their commercial value. They assert that there is not enough data to substantiate the need to kill them as pests. Most experts insist kangaroos are in no danger of extinction, but Molly Olson, director of the Greenpeace office in Sydney, told me she fears they may be if the commercial killing continues.

Prof. Gordon Grigg of the University of Queensland in Brisbane has been looking long and hard at the kangaroo problem from an unusual vantage point–the pilot's seat of a low-flying aircraft. Each year he takes part in the aerial survey that helps determine the current population of kangaroos in the semi-arid region of Australia. Piloting a high-winged Cessna, he flies just 250 feet above the ground. Two trained observers sitting in the back scan the terrain on either side. On a recent flight with the survey team, I saw nothing at first but bushes and dry streambeds. Within 20 minutes, though, I was beginning to discern a few animals here and there. "Look! There are five kangaroos down there. How many did you gentlemen see?"

"Twenty-two."

Those guys were good. They had trained for more than two years before qualifying for the job. Yet, depending on the terrain, even they could spot only about half of the animals that were actually down there. Later, the survey results, complete with sighting corrections, would be scaled into a population model for the entire area.

"After more than a decade of flying surveys over the eastern two-thirds of Australia," Grigg told me, "the strongest impression I am left with is the huge impact that the hard-hooved, hard-feeding sheep have had on the landscape. It is difficult to find a scene where the imprint of the hooves is not clearly visible. The vegetation has been ground underfoot, exposing the fragile

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soil, changing its drainage properties and lessening its suitability for plant growth." Roos, on the other hand, have soft feet that do not harm tender vegetation. This can be an important factor in revegetating an area.

The obvious way to address the problem of land degradation is by reducing the number of sheep and cattle. But how? Economic pressure has already pushed many ranchers' backs to the wall.

"Kangaroo meat has great potential for sale at high prices, yet ranchers are grateful when the shooter comes to take the carcasses away," Grigg says. His idea is to mount a national marketing campaign alerting consumers to the health benefits of kangaroo meat, which contains less than 2 percent fat and almost no cholesterol. The objective is to raise demand and price to such an extent that stockmen will "find it worthwhile to reduce their traditional hard-footed stock in favor of free-range kangaroos."

Grigg's kangaroo-ranching proposal has had mixed and vociferous reviews. Some critics say the rural community is much too conservative to try such a radical innovation, yet the country's sheep industry is in an economic crisis and may soon fail in some regions.

Many of those who abhor the idea of eating their country's national symbol seem to forget that millions of the animals are killed each year as vermin.

Although there is strong sentiment to dismiss Grigg's idea out of hand, it refuses to go away–perhaps because it makes sense. Kangaroos evolved on the Australian soil. They are attuned to the land and its vegetation and seasonal changes. It has already been demonstrated that surplus animals can be cropped without threatening overall populations, just as deer and waterfowl are "harvested" in the United States. Fundamental changes in the public's attitude are coming, too. One Australian newspaper headline that recently caught my eye shouted, "EATING ROOS WILL SAVE THEM: Govt."

That may strike many Americans as a Catch-22 proposition, but in Australia Catch-22 is normal. If you doubt it, just look at the kangaroo.

Training their keen eyes on some distant event, two wallabies appear both beautiful and ungainly. It is this capacity to embody contradictions that makes the roo such an appropriate symbol of the "land down under."

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United States Marine Corps Museum

Their landing craft stuck on a reef, marines plunge into the sea for assault on Betio's Red Beach Three.

By Michael Kernan

'...heavy fire... unable to land... issue in doubt'

For the Second Marine Division, the taking of tiny Tarawa on the way to Japan in 1943 exacted a cruel toll in blood and courage

August 1943: Marine Maj. Gen. Julian C. Smith stands before a mahogany conference table in K Room, on the third floor of the Windsor Hotel in Wellington, New Zealand. General Smith blinks behind his glasses as a neat, small man in an admiral's uniform spreads a large chart across the table. Vice Adm. Raymond Spruance has come all the way from Hawaii to tell Smith that, in November, his 18,088-man Second Marine Division will be attacking Tarawa.

The map shows an atoll, more or less triangular, 18 miles long, a coral spine studded with tiny huts and trading stations. To the southwest is Bititu Island, more commonly known as Betio (see map on page 120), where the Japanese have dug in. Spruance pronounces it "BAY-SHOW." The atoll itself he calls "*TAR*-A-WA." Hardly anyone has heard of it.

Smith and his staff study the chart of Betio. They see a curious little island shaped like a cockatoo lying on its back. The legs are represented by a pier that juts straight out from its belly. The whole thing covers less than 300

Combat artist Tom Lovell has depicted them on their punishing slog to the beach along a 700-yard pier, under fire from Japanese defenders whose killing power has been only slightly lessened by Navy bombardment.

acres; it is less than half a mile wide at its widest point and only a shade over two miles long. The 700-yard-long pier and the new airfield, on which the Japanese are still working, are the only noticeable features. Those and the wiggly lines that mark the reef surrounding it.

The Battle of Tarawa is not as famous as the earlier attack on Guadalcanal or later assaults on Iwo Jima and Okinawa, although more than 1,000 Americans were killed in the 76 hours required to take the island. But it was at Tarawa that the Marines made the first American seaborne assault against a heavily defended coral atoll. After Tarawa we would send in frogmen to clear the beach approaches, measure water depths, study local tides. The percentage of casualties for the number of men involved was appalling. In the public mind, both during the war and to this day, it produced an indelible image of men, up to their waists in water, helplessly slogging across hundreds of yards of Pacific shallows into the teeth of Japanese fire.

It is the fall of 1943. In Western Europe the war is approaching a sort of climax with the invasion of Italy. But in the Pacific, four months after the U.S. victory at Midway, things are going slowly. Like Midway, Guadalcanal had been a turning point. After landing August 7, 1942, the Marines had to fight for six months, finally winning the island and its crucial airfield. Now another stage in the long, island-hopping road to Japan is about to begin.

The new major American objective in the Central Pacific is Kwajalein, 65 miles long, the largest atoll in the world and a superb base for planes and ships. But to take it, you need forward airbases in Tarawa and elsewhere in the Gilberts.

At the historic meeting in Wellington, Julian Smith diffidently remarks that the reef is going to be the main problem. His operations officer, Lieut. Col. David M. Shoup, glances around the table. Shoup, 38, had met the Japanese in jungle combat on Guadalcanal. "Amtracs," he mutters. Spruance shakes his head at this mention of amphibians. The landing will have to be made in ship's boats, he says. He does not give a reason.

Map shows Tarawa atoll in the Pacific (inset). To reach cockatoo-shaped Betio Island, Schoettel's men face a 900-yard wade from reef to beachhead; Amey's men slosh 700 yards; Crowe's men trek some 500 yards.

Using small wharf near main pier as cover, marines in chest-high water work their way toward beach.

October 1943: Julian Smith flies into Honolulu for a talk with Maj. Gen. Holland M. Smith, known to history as "Howlin' Mad" Smith, an expert on amphibious warfare who commands the Fifth Amphibious Corps under Admiral Spruance.

The two Smiths huddle over yet another map. This one shows the Tarawa atoll, Betio and its lagoon, with the depths marked at various points: seven, nine, five feet. There is one little problem. The soundings were taken by the Wilkes Expedition, a remarkable naval exploration of the Pacific and the Northwest coast of America (SMITHSONIAN, November 1985). The map, drawn in 1841, carried a notation: "This chart should be used with circumspection; the surveys are incomplete."

Any attack will have to be blunt, head-on and quick, Julian Smith explains. The ocean side, to the south, is out of the question; aerial photographs show the enemy has mounted his most powerful defenses on that shore. Besides, there is a heavy surf.

This leaves the lagoon side. But here, say the New Zealanders who know these waters, the tides are tricky. They have a nasty way of "dodging," rising and falling at uneven rates in the shallow lagoon. Because of tactical

In the heat of battle, marines briefly take refuge behind a seawall of coconut logs, gathering strength and the will to hurl themselves blindly over the top–into withering fire–and then plunge farther inland.

considerations the attack will have to be made during a period of neap tides. Such tides occur near the first- and third-quarter phases of the moon and do not crest as high as the spring tides of the full and new moons. They sometimes remain at nearly the same depth for hours and on Tarawa they could be as low as three feet. Rear Adm. Harry Hill, put in command of the amphibious force, consults with local mariners and reaches a cautious consensus that neap high tide in the lagoon on November 20 will surely be close to five feet deep. A loaded Higgins boat, the conventional landing craft of 1943, draws between three and a half and four feet, leaving a narrow margin for error.

Nevertheless, Julian Smith quietly spells out his fears that the water may be too low for the Higgins boats. His people could be stranded far out on the reef and forced to wade for hundreds of yards under deadly fire. He has 75 amtracs (amphibious tractors) at Wellington, enough to get the first assault waves ashore, but will need at least 100 more. Holland Smith nods agreement. But when he is consulted, Rear Adm. Richmond Kelly Turner, who oversaw the Marine landings on Guadalcanal, insists that more of the 25-foot-long amtracs won't be needed. They're slow, he adds. All but impossible to steer in any kind of a sea and no armor to speak of. Once they stall, they ship water over their low freeboard and swamp.

To the end of his life, Holland Smith would insist Tarawa should have been bypassed in the island-hopping campaign to reach Japan. Now he is outraged by the Navy's reluctance to give the Marines the equipment they need. Face darkening, he bursts out: "No amtracs, no operation!" Finally Turner agrees to give the Second Marine Division more amtracs. If the tide does come in low, he notes, they can ferry men from the larger Higgins boats to shore.

Since taking Tarawa from the British shortly after Pearl Harbor, the Japanese have been making it impregnable. Reconnaissance reveals a network of dugouts, coral-block machine-gun nests and interlocking communication trenches. Lines of fire have been sighted in so that every spot on the island can be crisscrossed with withering fire from many different angles.

The defenses include four eight-inch guns that threaten virtually every inch of the seaward approach to the shore; ten 75-millimeter mountain guns, six 70-millime-

The Japanese littered the island with strongpoints–often concrete bunkers covered with sand. At left, marines maneuver for assault, finish the job with explosives (above).

ter cannon, nine 37-millimeter field pieces, four pairs of five-inch coastal guns, 14 light tanks and many antiaircraft guns and mortars. Tank traps have been sunk in the beach. There are concrete blockhouses up to 40 feet in diameter and 17 feet high, and an incredible 500 pillboxes, sunken miniforts with shallow-curved cupolas and walls of reinforced concrete five feet thick. Rear Adm. Keiji Shibasaki, who has lately taken over the defenses, boasts that if they had a hundred years, "a million men could not take Betio." Along with 2,217 Korean laborers, Shibasaki has 4,836 men, of whom about 3,000 are fighting effectives, including 2,600 first-rate *rikusentai*, or special landing forces.

Most are concentrated on the south side, facing the open sea, where it is thought the Americans will land and be stopped at the beach by the mines and tank obstacles, wire tangles and guns. The American attack is expected at high tide in the morning, but the Japanese expect to counterattack at night and sweep every living enemy off the beach. The assumption is that Americans cannot see in the dark.

Latrines have been set on pilings out over the water. Based partly on the count of latrines visible from the air, American intelligence has underestimated the number of defenders at 2,800. The six Marine battalions scheduled to attack number twice that, though doctrine has it that success requires three times as many attackers as defenders. Torrents of steel and high explosives are to be hurled at the island from three battleships, four cruisers and nine destroyers. Waves of planes are scheduled to bomb and strafe the tiny patch of sand.

Lieut. Col. Shoup draws up the final attack plan. Three battalions will hit the lagoon-side beach at once: the Second Battalion, Second Marines and the Second Battalion, Eighth Marines side by side athwart the pier (Red Beach Two and Three, respectively) and the Third Battalion, Second Marines slightly to the west, at the cove that forms the cockatoo's throat (Red Beach One). As the landing drills wind up, the assault commander falls sick. Suddenly Shoup finds himself promoted to full colonel, commanding the Second Marines, the reinforced combat regiment that will lead the assault that he has planned.

Years later, when the taciturn, poetry-writing Shoup becomes commandant of the U.S. Marine Corps, it is partly because of what he did at Tarawa. His experience there will also influence advice that he gives President John F. Kennedy in 1963 when the feasibility of invading Cuba comes up. Showing Kennedy a map of tiny Tarawa–as compared with the 800-mile-long Cuba–Shoup reminds the President of the "trouble we had" taking the little triangle of sand and coral.

The landing is now firmly set for neap tide on November 20, at 8:30 A.M. The date is a compromise. In November the only tides coming just after daybreak are neaps, with their lesser highs. During most of the

Michael Kernan writes often for SMITHSONIAN. *His first novel,* The Lost Diaries of Frans Hals, *will be published next year by St. Martin's Press.*

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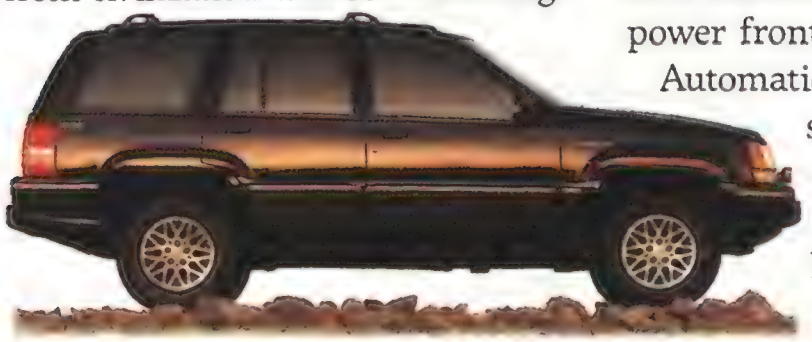

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Evacuating the growing number of wounded became an ordeal. After getting first aid, many were loaded onto rubber rafts, then ferried by buddies to ships with medical facilities waiting beyond the offshore reef.

month the spring tides, with their higher highs–the ideal time to run boats over the reef–are expected either before dawn or late in the afternoon. Predawn attack would rule out effective bombardment beforehand. An afternoon attack would mean that reinforcements would have to land at night.

Navy experts are still promising five feet of water at the end of the pier on the morning of November 20. One New Zealand Army Reserve officer who knows the island warns that there will be less than four feet over the reef, with a dodging tide making it even shallower. Everyone agrees that by the 22d the dodging tendencies will be over, but Admiral Turner decides not to put off the attack. Each day that passes, he has been told, increases the danger of a west wind, which would push waves up perhaps too steep for a landing. The landing of heavy matériel will certainly be delayed. Turner figures he has a two-to-one chance that the tides won't be a crucial problem. He is wrong.

Saturday, November 20, 2:20 A.M.: Transports heave to northwest of the island, which looms black in the path of the moon. By 2:55 A.M. 13 transports are reported in position 10,000 yards offshore. Boats are lowered and men begin clambering down the rope nets, but it turns out they are within range of Japanese guns–and in the wrong position, exactly in the line of fire between the battleships and the Japanese.

The whole timetable is thrown off. Transports are laboriously moved out of the way, as landing craft loaded with men bob along behind. The time of attack has to be postponed, first 15 minutes, then another 15. The revised H-Hour is 9 A.M.

5:42 A.M.: Everyone listens for the planes which at that moment are supposed to dump 1,500 tons of bombs on the island. Bolloxed communications hold them up. It is 6:20 A.M. before carrier-based Dauntless, Avenger and Hellcat aircraft roar overhead. They drop 500 tons of bombs, only a third of what Shoup had counted on to kill enemy troops and level buildings near the beaches.

6:22 A.M.: The naval bombardment opens, lasting nearly 90 minutes, littering every foot of the atoll with fragments from 3,000 tons of shells. It is 8:25 before the first waves of amtracs peel off from the line of departure and head for shore, some 6,000 yards away. Of the amtracs available, 87 are in the first three waves–42, then 24 and 21. The rest will come later. Each wave is 300 yards from the last. Some, at Shoup's suggestion, have been equipped with light armored shields specially welded in New Zealand. Each vehicle holds 20 to 25 men. They make less than four knots at sea.

At 8:55 A.M. all guns stop firing. Smoke has obscured the beach where the marines are landing, and for 20 crucial minutes the big guns have to remain silent. The Japanese use this moment to rush men massed on the south beach to cover the lagoon.

At 4,000 yards shells from the Japanese 75s start splashing around the amtracs. Then the 37s kick in, and at 2,000 yards long-range machine guns begin to spray bullets all over the sea. Soon rifle fire joins in. At 800 yards, amtracs reach the reef, crawl up over it and down into the water on the shore side. "Little boats on wheels," the Japanese call them.

A few hundred yards ahead of the first wave, two landing boats, miraculously unscathed, touch the end of the

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pier and men pour out, firing at the Japanese machine guns hidden in the pier. This is the scout-sniper platoon led by First Lieut. William Deane Hawkins, 30, a rangy Texan. Everybody calls him "Hawk." He has worked his way up through the ranks and does not believe he will survive the war.

Hawkins and his men race down the pier, hurling grenades at machine-gun nests, squirting fire from flamethrowers. Soon the pilings are ablaze.

The first wave of amtracs scrapes the sand in uneven increment: 9:10 on Red One; 9:17 on Red Three; 9:22 on Red Two. The beachhead is only ten yards wide. Amtrac drivers discover their machines can't climb over the four-foot seawall. Engines scream, throwing up showers of sand and splinters. The vehicles get hung up on the wall, sink back peppered with holes. In the chaos, some Second Battalion, Second Marines amtracs slant west to land on Red One with the Third Battalion, which the ferocity of the defense has already forced many yards west of its intended landing point. This is Maj. John F. Schoettel's battalion, but he is still trying to get to shore.

"Casualties 70 percent. Can't hold"

To men in the next wave of boats plugging toward the island, the noise is unbelievable: vast shuddering explosions that squeeze the body; the howl of steel fragments tearing the air apart just overhead; the spang of lead smashing into steel; gigantic splashes, underwater explosions that heave tons of green sea with enormous white-water crowns up into the air; guns chattering in long bursts, ripping the water into froth. And above the din a roar of human shouts, screams and cries.

Many of the amtracs are blasted to bits. Bodies sprawl on their decks. Men pile out, to sink under their packs or to float face down. Unhit amtracs start back for another load, running in reverse to keep their armored fronts to the enemy, but many lie dead in the water or skewed crazily on the torn sand. A message from an unidentified sender flashes to Gen. Julian Smith aboard the flagship *Maryland*: "Have landed. Unusually heavy opposition. Casualties 70 percent. Can't hold." In the three-day assault, 90 out of 125 amtracs will be lost.

Now it is the turn of the Higgins boats.

Pounded for hours by wind and ocean chop as they wallowed and circled on the line of departure, the men are relieved to be moving in at last. But some can see the reef just under the surface ahead. Here and there, the coral is actually out of the water, drying in the sun.

With an ominous squeal of metal the front boat, halfway across the lagoon, scrapes its bottom, lurches, stops dead on the coral. Others join it. The second wave piles into the lead wave, and the third follows. Some boats back off. Men leap over the side, holding their rifles high. They are in shallow water 800 yards from shore.

After the three-day battle, exhausted marines get to rest up on a beach pockmarked by Navy shellfire.

All around them the surface is whipped by curtains of bullets. Shells explode among the men with towering splashes. Marines watch as first one, then another Higgins boat takes a direct hit, splitting them wide open, spilling men and gear into the sea. The rusty, barnacled wreck of a local freighter that foundered on the reef during an earlier air strike plagues marines with crossfire from Japanese snipers hidden inside.

A wave of larger craft carrying Sherman tanks stops at the reef and disgorges the tanks into the sea. Time-Life correspondent Robert Sherrod, who came in with the fifth wave, reports: "One marine picked a half-dozen pieces of shrapnel from his lap, stared at them. Another said, 'Oh God, I'm scared. I've never been so scared in my life'. . . . Said the wild-eyed small-boat boss: 'It's hell in here. They've already knocked out a lot of boats and there are a lot of wounded men lying on the beach from the first wave. . . .'"

All along the front, men slosh in, waist-deep in bloody water, rifles over their heads, dodging and ducking as the bullets sing past. Their trousers are torn by the sharp coral, their knees and hands are bleeding.

Behind are burned and torn palms, the flat, ruined island and remains of Japanese latrine set on pilings.

On the concave beach at Red One, exposed to fire on three sides, of the 880 men of the Third Battalion, Second Marines only about 100 are still in action. One company reports only 40 survivors. Major Schoettel, the battalion commander, still in a boat half a mile from shore, radios Shoup at 9:59: "Receiving heavy fire all along beach. Unable to land. Issue in doubt." Minutes later, another message: "Boats held up on reef of right flank Red One. Troops receiving heavy fire in water."

Shoup replies: "Land Red Beach Two and work west."

Schoettel: "We have nothing left to land."

This news so shocks Shoup that he calls in his regimental reserve battalion to land on Red Two and work over toward Red One.

Despite his report, Schoettel's headquarters and weapons detachments are, in fact, still waiting in their Higgins boats; he has already lost 17 officers and believes his assault waves have been shattered to pieces. Only late in the day does a peremptory message from Julian Smith stir him to action: "Direct you land at any cost." Later Schoettel reports to Shoup on Red Two, saying he got separated from his men–who land without him. Despite being demoralized, the major takes command of what is left of his battalion along with the First Battalion, Eighth Marines and battles for 48 hours to wipe out the "Pocket," the toughest enemy complex on the island. Later, Schoettel is cited for bravery; he will die in action on Guam.

A pilot observer swooping back and forth over the battle notes, "The water seemed never clear of tiny men, their rifles held over their heads, slowly wading beachward. I wanted to cry."

Red Two is the worst. Some 200 yards out, Lieut. Col. Herbert Amey's amtrac runs into a submerged wire fence. He jumps out, waves his pistol in the air, shouts, "Come on! These bastards can't stop us!" and sprints hard for shore. A cone of fire hits him in the throat and kills him instantly.

The terrible test of the seawall

Some of Amey's men hide behind a wrecked amtrac until Lieut. Col. Walter Jordan, who had come as an observer, leads them to the beach. He can't contact other landing teams because most radios are waterlogged, so he sends out runners. Marines are scattered on the spiky coral sand in small groups. Some are as far as 100 yards inland, but most lie at the foot of the seawall, heads down, out of the storm of lead that rakes the beach.

Men huddled at the seawall watch their reinforcements die in the water. Sergeants and lieutenants shout to them, taunting and bullying them. Now and then an officer rises by himself to storm over the wall into the spray of lead. Very few follow. Those who do, scuttling madly across the sand, flop prone after five or six yards to shoot blindly at whatever is ahead. Some lie where they fall. Some inch their way back to roll exhausted over the seawall and lie there wide-eyed, panting.

Sgt. William Bordelon, a combat engineer attached to the Second Battalion, Second Marines, is one of five survivors of his 22-man platoon. His amtrac was blown up offshore. He crouches behind the coconut logs, large hands clenched on some satchel charges, a silent man with deepset gray eyes and a long, unsmiling face.

"Cover me!" he suddenly shouts and springs up over the wall and runs, zigzagging through the rain of bullets, to a Japanese pillbox squatting in the sand a few yards away. He swerves to the side and jams a satchel into the firing slit. A moment later the whole structure explodes in a mushroom of sand and log fragments. Bordelon races to the next pillbox, which covers the first. He throws a satchel inside that one too, and then blows up a third. Finally he runs back and slides down over the wall to get more satchels.

The front of his shirt is blossoming red.

Bordelon ducks back to the beach to pull in a fellow engineer, foundering at the water's edge. Then the

sergeant lopes up to the wall, picks up more satchels and starts forward again. Instantly he is stitched by gunfire from three directions and killed. He will get the Medal of Honor.

In one makeshift hospital in a captured pillbox, more than 100 wounded have been collected. In the gloom, doctors have to operate by flashlight. Suddenly a wounded man lifts his rifle and fires at a figure huddled in a corner. Shocked, ears ringing, the marines look at the sprawled body. It is a Japanese soldier who has crept inside. Marines find another and crush his head with a rifle butt. With the rage of battle on them, they keep fighting despite their wounds. Some don't bother to stop for bandages but press on, faces, hands, shirts smeared with blood.

It is about noon. Down the length of the beach, pockets of marines wait by the seawall. Behind them lies the carnage of blasted boats and bodies, spread-eagled on the rocks, hanging head down from wrecked craft, lying half submerged in the water, face down, rocking gently with the waves. Out in the lagoon, landing craft circle, dodging the constant fire.

As troops keep straggling onto the beach, the confusion mounts. Hardly any radios are intact. Officers are separated from their men. Entire units have come ashore at the wrong place. Aboard the cruiser *Indianapolis,* naval officers mill about in Admiral Spruance's cabin, some suggesting that the Fleet Commander take direct control of the operation. Spruance raps the table once. His cold eyes rake the room. The noise stops. "Gentlemen," he says crisply, "there are a number of senior officers in this landing in whom I have the utmost confidence. The operation will proceed."

The chaos on the beach at last sorts itself out. Colonel Shoup wades ashore after two boats fail under him. He finds 20 men cowering under the pier and rousts them out. A mortar shell knocks him off his feet, peppering his legs with shrapnel. He gets up, pulls himself together and sets up HQ 50 yards past the seawall, next to a ruined air raid shelter.

The sun sinks. Yard by yard, the marines push beyond the seawall. One by one the pillboxes and shelters and dugouts get the treatment: satchel charges or bangalore torpedoes thrust by hand inside the portholes. Flamethrowers are used if they can be taken close enough.

Dawn will break on a hellish scene

By nightfall 5,000 marines have crossed the line of departure. Fifteen hundred are dead or wounded, the others are crowded onto the tiny island's fringes. Medical supplies are so short that corpsmen wade out into the surf to take first-aid kits from dead bodies. Morphine Syrettes are at a premium. There is hardly any water.

November 21: The sun rises, so hot and bright that it makes the eyes ache even before its orange-balloon image has fully lifted above the horizon. On the beach lie bodies exposed by the receding tide, dangling from smashed amtracs, tanks and wire traps. At 6 A.M. a reserve battalion that has been circling offshore for 20 hours swarms in over the reef at low tide. The men start wading in. Marines on the beach watch warily, knowing that the Japanese have plenty of ammunition still on hand in their bunkers.

This second day landing is worse than the first. The Japanese, whose concrete bunkers reinforced with palm trunks had enabled them to survive the bombings and strafings, are still alive, it seems. Machine guns smuggled at night aboard the grounded freighter cut down marines in rows. The men on the shore scream as they helplessly watch their reinforcements cut to pieces. Of 199 men in the first wave this day, only 90 reach shore. It takes five hours to land all the reserves. Almost half of the 800 are killed or wounded. The battalion loses all its flamethrowers in the water.

Nevertheless, this is a pivotal point. Shoup orders a head-on attack over the seawall. In a fury inspired by the slaughter they have just watched, the men charge inland.

Lieut. Deane Hawkins and his scouts take the point as usual, 150 yards into the trees. They reach the airstrip, but Hawkins is wounded again and again. He attacks a machine-gun nest with grenades, presses on with his men to knock out three more nests. He dies at an aid station during the night. He too wins the Medal of Honor.

Backed by the fresh reserve troops, the invasion gains momentum. Leapfrogging ahead, teams of engineers

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To mark official victory, on the day after the assault began the flag is hoisted on a shattered palm tree.

carrying flamethrowers and satchel charges alternate with covering groups of riflemen. They reach the airstrip in force and push beyond. By midafternoon Colonel Jordan learns that some 150 men, all that are left of his battalion, have reached the south shore and are holed up there with little ammo and no water. They have cut the island in two.

The First Battalion, Sixth Marines lands on Green Beach, bringing the first complete unit ashore with all weapons, including light tanks. Now pillboxes don't have to be removed by hand. Shoup, who had come in commanding a regimental combat team and wound up running eight battalions, gets a little relief. He will win the third Medal of Honor here.

Day Three: Marines begin the final drive. Jeeps are coming ashore, always a good sign because they mean the front has moved on ahead. The First Battalion, Sixth Marines, bypassing the four-acre Pocket at the cove, advance down the long south shore, tanks in the lead, relieving the beleaguered platoons by the airstrip. On Red Three, 400 yards east of the pier, Maj. Henry Crowe, the only one of three assault team commanders to reach shore with his men on D-day morning, is blocked by a huge, sand-covered, concrete bombproof impervious to the heaviest fire.

Enter Lieut. Alexander Bonnyman. Slim, diffident, Princeton, he is an engineer who owns several copper mines near Santa Fe, New Mexico. His men have killed dozens of Japanese as they sortied out from the bombproof. Now Bonnyman and five others scramble up the sandy mound in the face of desperate firing.

For a moment Bonnyman is king of the mountain, 17 feet high. Then the Japanese rush him, racing up their side of the hill with shrill yells. Bonnyman stands alone, firing his carbine. He is hit, falls to his knees, rips out a magazine, jams in a fresh one, fires until the enemy turns and runs back down the hill. He follows, rubber-legged, tumbles and rolls to the bottom, dead. Behind him other engineers shove grenades into the ventilators of the bombproof and pour cans of gasoline down the vents. With a tremendous roar it blows up. The marines count 150 corpses inside. Bonnyman becomes the battle's fourth and final Medal of Honor winner.

By nightfall on the third day the marines hold a line across the western half of the island and most of the north side. There are 7,000 ashore now, with perhaps 1,000 Japanese still hidden in dugouts. And now, in the dark, the Japanese counterattack at last. Three times they rush forward, at the end reduced to brandishing swords and bayonets. Many commit suicide. Three times they are repelled. Next morning, aided by strafing planes and naval guns, the marines break down the last bombproofs. It is over. Second Marine Division casualties: 1,027 killed, 2,292 wounded, 88 missing. Japanese and Korean casualties: 4,690 dead, 146 captured.

The American public will be outraged at what some call a modern Charge of the Light Brigade. Shortly after the battle, according to a 1962 issue of the *Naval Institute Proceedings*, a naval board of inquiry took up the question of the tides, although no other report surfaced. Admiral Spruance and all of the principals in the battle denied repeatedly that any such meeting took place. Other top-level conferences after the battle discussed many aspects of Tarawa, among them the need for more amtracs, better early bombardment, improved communications and the creation of underwater demolition teams. But the tides were not listed as a topic.

"Invaluable" information–inaccurate details

Admiral Turner–whose position has always been that he took a calculated risk and lost–will report on the local experts and their "dodging tides": "The information obtained from them was invaluable, in spite of some of it being inaccurate in matters affecting many of the details. . . ." Adm. Chester Nimitz in his report says: "Hydrographic information was known to be incomplete. Tidal conditions were about as expected." Admiral Turner's biographer concludes: "All those in command at Pearl [Harbor] realized that the shallow coral reef, aptly called a barrier reef . . . was a major hazard for the assault forces. . . . All were acquainted with the possibility of a 'dodging tide,' but the chances of it occurring on 20 November 1943 were judged slim.

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In a 1987 issue of *Sky & Telescope*, physicist Donald W. Olson, a professor at Southwestern Texas State University, analyzed the Tarawa tides and calculated that "from 9 A.M. until 10 P.M. on November 20, 1943, the water hovered within 6 inches of its mean level, 3.3 feet. It was a neap tide of reduced range, technically neither a dodging nor a vanishing tide. . . ." But, Olson says, Navy experts at the time could not have predicted the atoll tides accurately because they did not then possess the detailed tidal "harmonic constants" for Tarawa.

As for "Howlin' Mad" Smith's postwar opinion that the battle should never have been fought at all, it is not widely shared. That early in the war no one could predict the effect of bypassing Tarawa and Makin. "Smith advocated going straight on into the Marshalls," former correspondent Sherrod points out. "But we know now that the Japanese were prepared to resist an invasion there. Tarawa had to be fought."

Sherrod, 84, who saw the action all through World War II, including Iwo Jima and Okinawa, says no experience matched wading in for 700 yards under shattering fire with the fifth wave at Tarawa. His book *Tarawa: The Story of a Battle* makes you feel you were there.

After the battle, in the quiet, naked Marines splash happily about in the cove, ignoring the signs warning of mines. As they look to the blue horizon, they get a nagging sense that something is missing. The dazzling white line of surf that brought death to so many has disappeared. At last the tide is up. The reef is gone!

Betio was taken to provide forward air support for the Kwajalein campaign. Thus when Ensign W. W. Kelly (center) became the first U.S. pilot to land on the captured airstrip, he set off a victory celebration.

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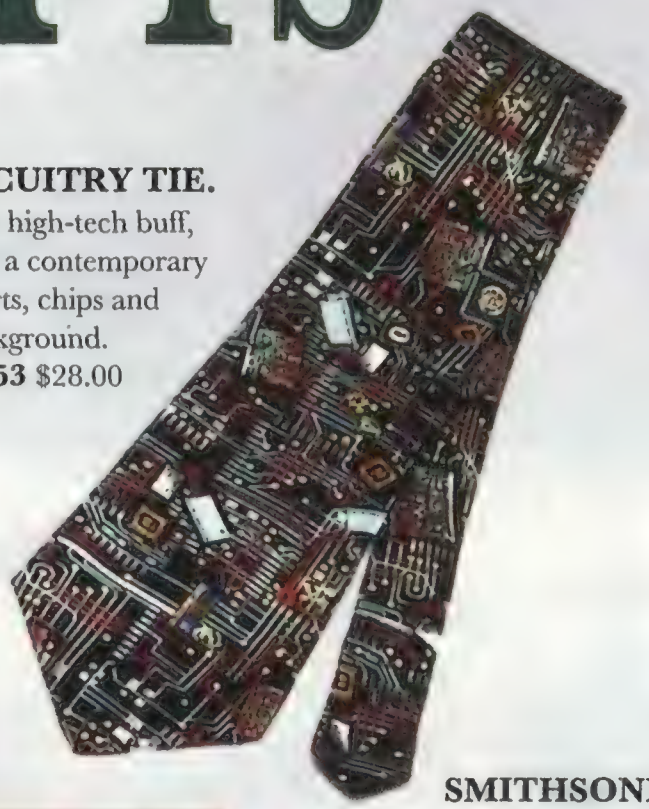

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A celebration of African-American artistry and vision

'Free Within Ourselves' showcases 31 artists and whets the appetite for the feast coming next fall to the National Museum of American Art

With more than a hundred artists represented, the Smithsonian's National Museum of American Art has one of the nation's strongest collections of works by African-Americans. And yet, remarkably, only 30 years ago NMAA had none of their works. Now, 31 of these artists are featured in 'Free Within Ourselves,' a traveling exhibition that provides the first overview of these rich holdings. Organized by associate curator Lynda Roscoe Hartigan, it is now at the Crocker Art Museum in Sacramento. The accompanying catalog, written by Regenia A. Perry, is an outstanding introduction to the subject.

How the collection was built–an account laid out in the catalog's preface by NMAA director Elizabeth Broun–is a story in itself. There was, for example, Evelyn S. Brown, director of the Harmon Foundation. In the course of promoting African-American artists for 40 years, that New York-based foundation had amassed a major collection. Brown worked tirelessly to find a home for the works, and 1,005 of them ended up at NMAA. 'The museum was suddenly endowed with a legacy that, in a single stroke, restored some small semblance of perspective on national culture,' writes Elizabeth Broun.

After closing at the Crocker on January 2, 1994, the show will travel to the Memphis Brooks Museum of Art in Memphis, Tennessee (January 30-March 27, 1994), and the Columbus Museum in Columbus, Georgia (May 1-June 26). Then, returning to the Smithsonian, the show will be expanded, opening at NMAA next September. The selection here of seven artists can only whet the appetite, but 'Free Within Ourselves' provides plenty to see and read if you find you're hungry for more.

Lois Mailou Jones

Born 1905

When Lois Mailou Jones went to Paris in 1937 to study art at the Académie Julian, she was in heaven. It was, she explains, the first time she felt absolute freedom to live and eat wherever she chose. Since that time, during her consistently successful career as a painter, teacher, book illustrator and textile designer, she has returned to her beloved France many times. During the 1930s and '40s Jones was the only African-American woman painter to achieve fame abroad; in 1952 a book reproducing more than a hundred of her French paintings was published in Paris.

Born in Boston, Jones graduated from the Boston Museum School of Fine Arts. A dedicated teacher, she was on the faculty at Howard University for 47 years, until her retirement in 1977. In 1953 she married Louis Vergniaud Pierre-Noel, a prominent Haitian artist, and her numerous oils and watercolors inspired by Haiti are probably her best-known works.

Jones' long career may be divided into four phases: the African-inspired works of the early 1930s; French subjects from 1937 to 1951; Haitian scenes of the 1950s and '60s; and her work in recent decades, in which she has returned to African themes. "Mine is a quiet exploration–a quest for new meanings in color, texture and design," she has said. "Even though I sometimes portray scenes of poor and struggling people, it is a great joy to paint."

Lois Mailou Jones painted *Les Fétiches* in 1938, while living in France on a fellowship. Her first major work depicting an African theme, it is a grouping of five masks and other objects that she studied firsthand.

Frederick Brown

Born 1945

Frederick Brown's 1989 portrait of Chicago harmonica wizard Amos (Junior) Wells is one of a series he did honoring the great blues musicians.

In 1969 Frederick Brown attended a music festival in Denmark, where he ran into Chicago bluesmen Earl Hooker and Magic Sam. They told Brown that they were more appreciated in Europe than in America, and Magic Sam predicted that after their deaths they would be quickly forgotten. Ironically, both men died shortly afterward, and Brown vowed that he would do something to ensure that they would be remembered.

Two decades later, honoring the pledge he had made in Denmark, Brown went to Mississippi, where he visited the Delta Blues Museum in Clarksdale and talked with local people, who regaled him with stories about early blues artists. He then began his series of works to honor the blues greats, which includes the powerful portrait of Amos (Junior) Wells, a major Chicago bluesman during the 1960s.

Brown's own background logically led to this group of works. His roots were in a working-class neighborhood on Chicago's South Side, where his father was friendly with many well-known blues musicians, including Muddy Waters and Howlin' Wolf. After getting a degree in art at Southern Illinois University, Brown taught for several years in Illinois and eventually, in 1970, moved to New York's SoHo district to become a professional painter.

Brown's paintings of the early 1970s were large, bold abstractions; at the same time, he collaborated with jazz giants Ornette Coleman and Anthony Braxton on a variety of multimedia projects. In 1975 he met Willem de Kooning, who gave him encouragement; Brown still affectionately refers to de Kooning as his "artistic godfather." By the mid-'80s, Brown's large gestural paintings were exhibited at the Marlborough Gallery in New York, and he later moved into figural works.

For Brown, music and painting are one, and the blues provides the inspiration for painting late at night when he feels at the height of his creative powers. "After midnight," he says; "that's when the creative spirits are loose."

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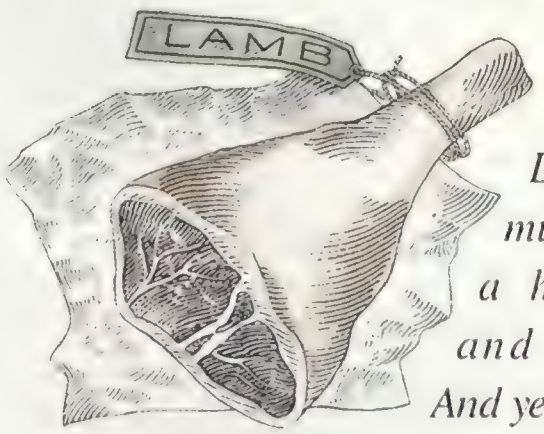

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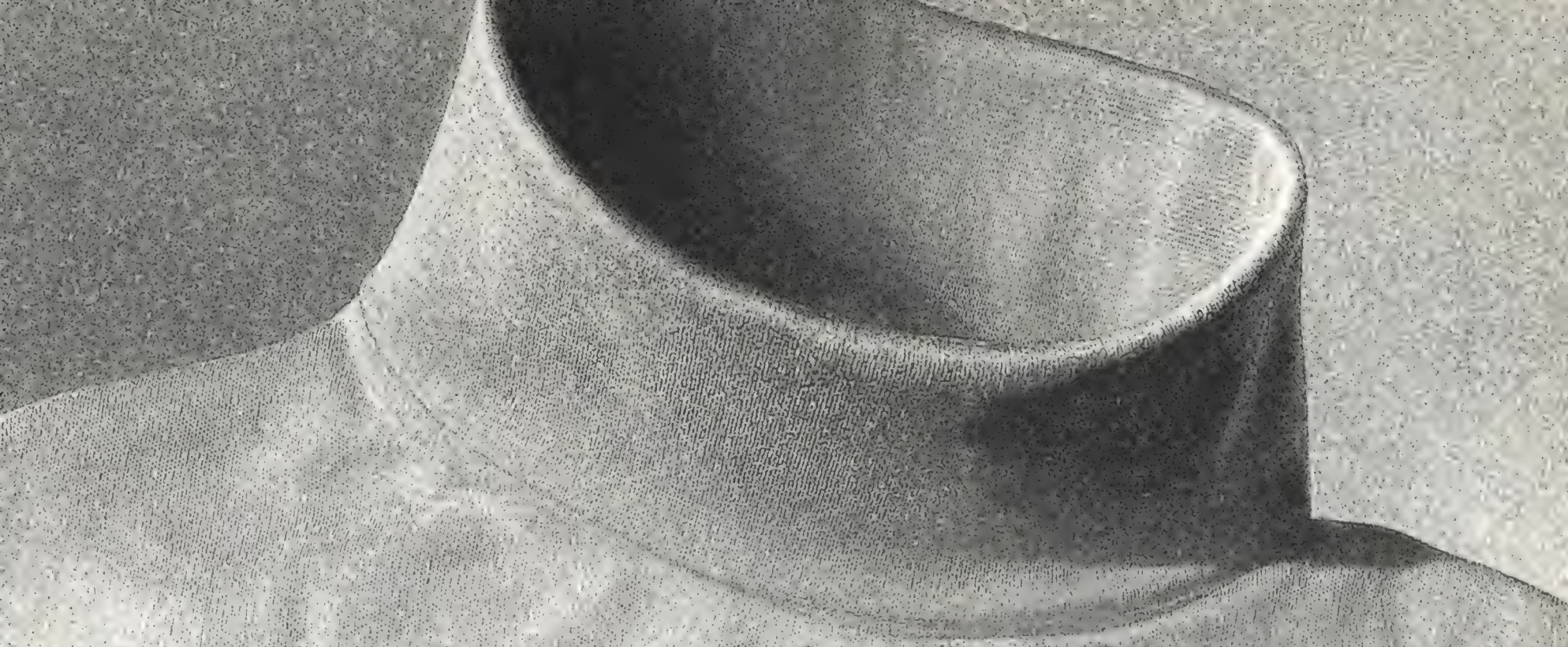
Bob Thompson
1937-1966

Between 1958 and 1966, Bob Thompson was a talented, bohemian artist as well as one whose success in the New York art world was phenomenal. Tragically, his life was cut short by his dissipated habits. But, more important, he produced an innovative body of metaphoric paintings at a time when both "classical" art historical sources and figurative styles were scorned.

Born in Louisville, Kentucky, Thompson studied art at the University of Louisville, where he became interested in Italian Renaissance painting. Copying works by Masaccio, Fra Angelico and Piero della Francesca, he developed his own visual vocabulary. He also spent a summer in Provincetown, Massachusetts, where Hans Hofmann had an art school, and while there he participated in "Happenings" organized by artist Red Grooms.

Leaving school during his senior year, Thompson moved to New York, where he began to experiment with the scientific perspective techniques of the Italian Renaissance. He transformed these experiments into personal reinterpretations of biblical subjects. His first one-man show was held at the Delancey Street Museum, a space created by his friend Grooms. Dividing his time between Europe and New York, he turned out works that were large, figurative, bright, raw and unorthodox in their use of color, with birds and other winged creatures appearing as ubiquitous symbols. Hailed by critics as a master of Renaissance themes with a contemporary focus, the brilliant young artist died in Rome after a series of increasingly serious medical problems.

In his short life, Bob Thompson received critical acclaim for his bold, Renaissance-inspired works like *Enchanted Rider*, from 1961.



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Bill Traylor
1854-1947

Bill Traylor, a sharecropper who raised 20 children, began to draw at age 85; he used crayon, tempera, paperboard and other simple tools.

When Bill Traylor was born in 1854 on the plantation of George Traylor near Benton, Alabama, the Emancipation Proclamation was still almost a decade away. He recalled little about his childhood during slavery; remaining on the Traylor plantation, he worked as a sharecropper–raising some 20 children along the way–until 1938, when his wife died. Moving into Montgomery, he slept in the back room of a funeral parlor and spent his days seated on Monroe Street, where he was known by almost everyone.

In 1939, when he was 85, Traylor's artistic impulses erupted suddenly and unexpectedly. Employing only pencils, a straightedge and a lap-size drawing board, Traylor worked on any material at hand–paper, cardboard or shirt cardboard. With crayons he then colored his simple geometric shapes, which became the basis of animals, human figures and architectural structures. His drawings reveal the experiences of a man who enjoyed life's humor in the face of hardship. In 1942, when he went North to live with some of his children, he apparently stopped drawing; he died five years later.

Extremely prolific, Traylor drew constantly from 1939 until 1942, commenting simply, "it jes' come to me."

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Sam Gilliam
Born 1933

For the past 25 years, Sam Gilliam has been internationally recognized as the foremost contemporary African-American Color Field painter. He is most widely known for the large color-stained canvases he draped and suspended from walls and ceilings during the late 1960s and early '70s. His works have great range, from geometric collages inspired by patchwork quilts of childhood to more recent textured paintings juxtaposed with metal forms.

Born in Tupelo, Mississippi, Gilliam spent his childhood in Louisville, Kentucky, and earned bachelor's and master's degrees from the University of Louisville. In 1962 he moved to Washington, D.C., where he had a solo exhibition the following year.

Gilliam, who has taught in public schools, universities and numerous workshops, views teaching as a mission. "Whether I am teaching or making art," he says, "the process is fundamentally the same: I am creating."

In Celebration (1987), a three-foot-wide serigraph, was commissioned from Sam Gilliam by the Smithsonian's Resident Associate Program to honor the opening of a new museum complex, and later donated to NMAA.

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Edmonia Lewis
C. 1843-after 1911

Edmonia Lewis' marble sculpture *Old Arrow Maker* (1872) is an evocation of her childhood; she grew up among the Chippewa in upstate New York.

Edmonia Lewis, the first professional African-American sculptor, was born in Ohio or New York; her father was a free African-American, her mother a Chippewa Indian. Orphaned before she was 5, Lewis lived with her mother's nomadic tribe until she was 12. Financed by her older brother, Sunrise, who had left the Chippewa to become a gold miner, she attended Oberlin College in Ohio. While there, she shed her Chippewa name, Wildfire, and took the name Mary Edmonia Lewis.

Determined to become a sculptor, Lewis studied in Boston under Edward Brackett and then headed for Europe. Settling in Rome, she quickly learned Italian and befriended two American women who were already there–actress Charlotte Cushman and sculptor Harriet Hosmer. Lewis was unique among sculptors of her generation in Rome as she rarely employed Italian workmen, completing most of her work without assistance. Portrait busts of abolitionists and patrons, and subjects depicting her dual African-American and Native American ancestry, were her specialty.

Newspaper accounts reveal that Lewis, who never married, attended a concert in St. Paul, Minnesota, in 1875, but facts concerning the rest of her life are obscure. She was last reported living in Rome in 1911–but at a price. "There is nothing so beautiful as the free forest," she once told a friend. "To catch a fish when you are hungry, cut the boughs of a tree, make a fire to roast it, and eat it in the open air, is the greatest of all luxuries. I would not stay a week pent up in cities, if it were not for my passion for art."

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Keith Morrison
Born 1942

Born in Jamaica, Keith Morrison was profoundly influenced by African and Caribbean cultures. After graduating from high school in Jamaica, he studied at the School of the Art Institute of Chicago, where he received training in Abstract Expressionism. In the mid-1970s, he turned from abstraction and since then has created figural paintings in which he deals with African and Caribbean themes.

"I wrestle with ideological tensions between African and European values in my work (as I do as a person)," says Morrison, who is dean of academic affairs at the San Francisco Art Institute. *Zombie Jamboree* reflects these dual influences. The painting, in which three large animals are seated in front of a pond at dusk, was inspired by stories about voodoo ceremonies that Morrison heard as a child. But the figure wearing white is based in part on Ophelia, the tragic heroine in *Hamlet*, while ghosts dancing across the water are a reference to Benjamin Britten's opera *The Turn of the Screw*.

Zombie Jamboree (1988), like many of Keith Morrison's works, mixes imagery of his native Jamaica with influences from European tradition.

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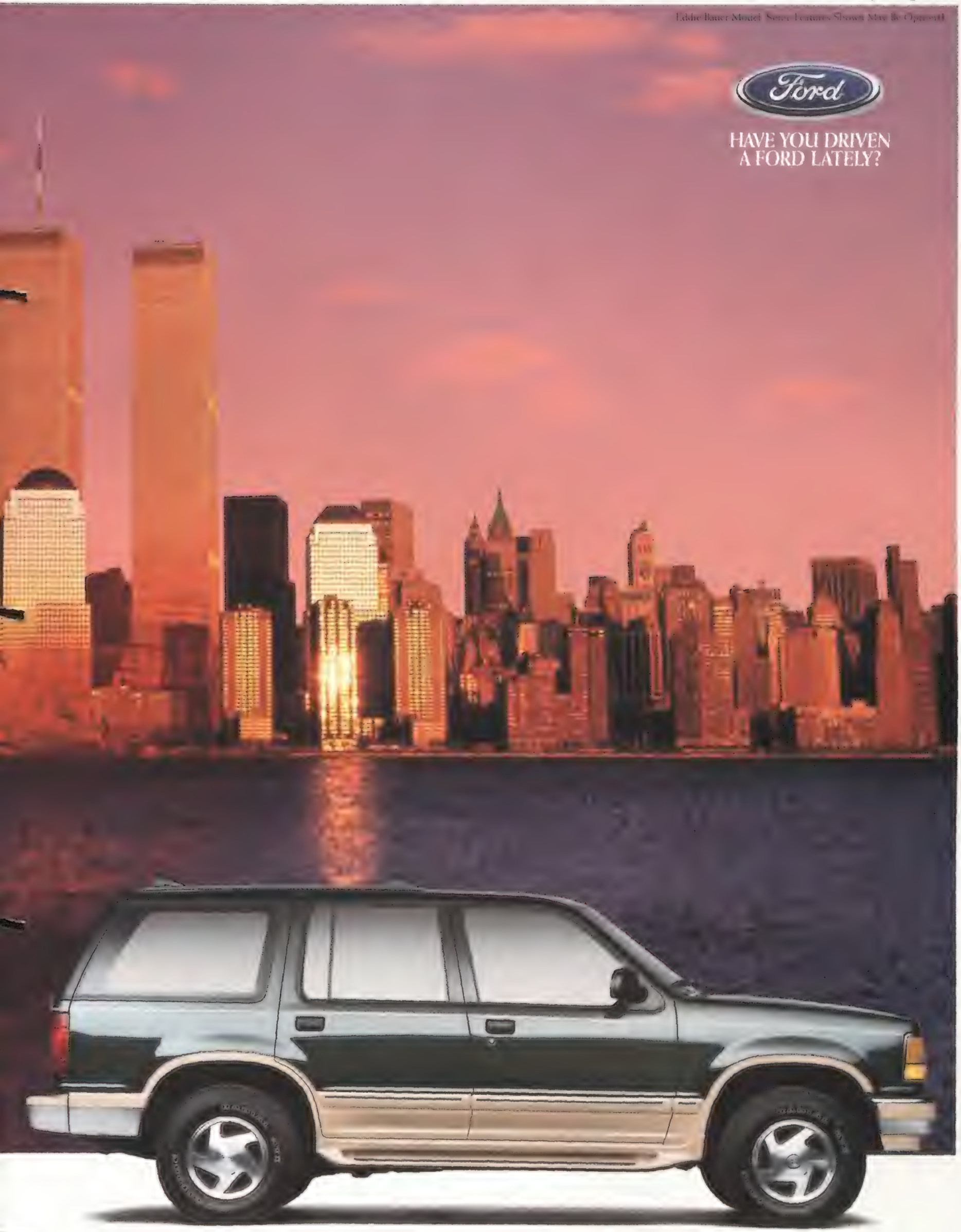


By Chiori Santiago

The tango is more than a dance–it's a moment of truth

Born in the multicultural stew of South American port cities, it toes a thin line between earthiness and eternal yearning

On a cobblestone street in a portside barrio of Buenos Aires, elegant shadows recall where tango was born.

The tango club Sin Rumbo is located on Buenos Aires' fringe–so far from its cosmopolitan center that it seems to have dropped off the edge of the Earth and into another, surreal universe. It's a dance hall with emphasis on "hall"–just a long, narrow rectangle filled with cigarette smoke so thick it hangs in sheets, like a malodorous lace curtain.

Couples drift silently across the tired linoleum floor to the squawks of an ancient stereo with the volume turned too high. They sweat beneath the glare of light bulbs that shine too brightly. Even the club's name underscores the desultory mood: the Club Social y Deportivo Sin Rumbo translates as the "social and sporting club with no direction." But if you're looking for the authentic Argentine tango, as I am, Sin Rumbo is where you find it. Tourists may applaud the glittery tango floor shows downtown, but those are entertainments designed for merrymakers. The tango, as any Argentine will tell you, is "a sad feeling that can be danced." Which describes what's happening at Sin Rumbo to a T.

José Lampazo is here tonight with his partner, Pocha. Like most of Buenos Aires' *tangueros*, they are buzzing with news of the production of a National Geographic television special on the tango. Filmed in Buenos Aires, the documentary is hosted by actor Robert Duvall, who's such a die-hard fan of the dance that he has reportedly invited tango teachers to his movie locations and urged cast and crew to tackle the complex steps. Like thousands of other Americans, Duvall was captivated by the Argentine stage show *Tango Argentino*, which swept through the United States in the mid-1980s like a sultry breeze, touching off a dance craze that's been fueled by memorable scenes in many films.

"Yes, we were the teachers of Señor Duvall," Lampazo says–a claim I'll hear from more than one couple during my stay in Buenos Aires. "He's a very fast learner.

"The principle of the dance is to know well how to put the feet together," Lampazo continues. "You put the body chest-to-chest and hug the partner. You grab

At Lincoln Center's Fountain Plaza in New York City, couples throw themselves into an evening of tango at a summer dance program. The growing popularity of the tango comes as no surprise to old-time devotees.

the woman." He demonstrates with Pocha, who moves effortlessly in high-heeled sandals. "The feet are always pointed forward. In the correct position of the feet, it's a pleasure." Lampazo closes his eyes, waiting to enter the music as if diving into a rushing stream.

"The woman, when she walks, she must have her legs closed, rubbing the knees and feet. Then, at every moment, you take care of the balance of each one. A well-matched couple which walks with elegance is considered the best in tango."

Simple instructions. Yet as Lampazo and Pocha dance, I see that the steps are not so simple. I can see how the tango got its reputation as a sexy tête-à-tête; as the couple sways and pauses, bodies locked, feet twining in intricate *ochos* (figure eights) and *cortes* (short, rapid steps), it's as if they're carrying on an intensely intimate exchange. I can also see why the tango's modern appeal has never matched the wild allegiance that brought it international fame in the pre-1940s world; a lot harder to learn than the twist, it tries the patience of a '90s culture revved to high gear. And I understand why the few who do master the movement become *fanáticos* for life. Between this guy in mechanic's pants and this woman wearing too much mascara, an unexpected magic happens. In this smoke-thick room with its table of birthday celebrants screaming over their beers, with the sad wheeze of *bandoneón* music tuned to distortion level, this couple is a serene oasis of gliding romance. Fred and Ginger never looked so good.

The tango is nothing if not transformative. While you're not likely to see it performed at your average disco, the dance packs plenty of metaphorical muscle in popular culture. In the movie *Scent of a Woman*, tango summed up a blind former military man's hope for salvation. "[There are] no mistakes in the tango," Al Pacino, as the caustic Lt. Col. Frank Slade, assures his young partner. "Not like life. . . . If you get all tangled up, you just tango on." A newly restored print of the 1921 silent

Photographs by Adriana Groisman/ Contact Press Images

A moment of truth disguised as a dance

Colorful tenements line Calle Caminito (Little Way), a side street in Buenos Aires' La Boca neighborhood.

film *The Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse* features Rudolph Valentino in the scene that made his name–in which he plays a wealthy gadfly who seduces women with his impetuous tango. In the campy hit *Strictly Ballroom*, an aging former dance champion indulges in a lonely tango for one, pointing up the dance as an exercise in solitude. As the television program *60 Minutes* found during the filming of a segment on the popularity of the tango in Finland, the dance's entrenched melancholy makes it the perfect pastime for the emotionally restrained Fins.

"People think of the tango as a dance of passion," says Richard Powers, a dance historian at Stanford University and one of a handful of tango authorities in the United States. "But it can also be a dance with great emotional distance between two physically close partners."

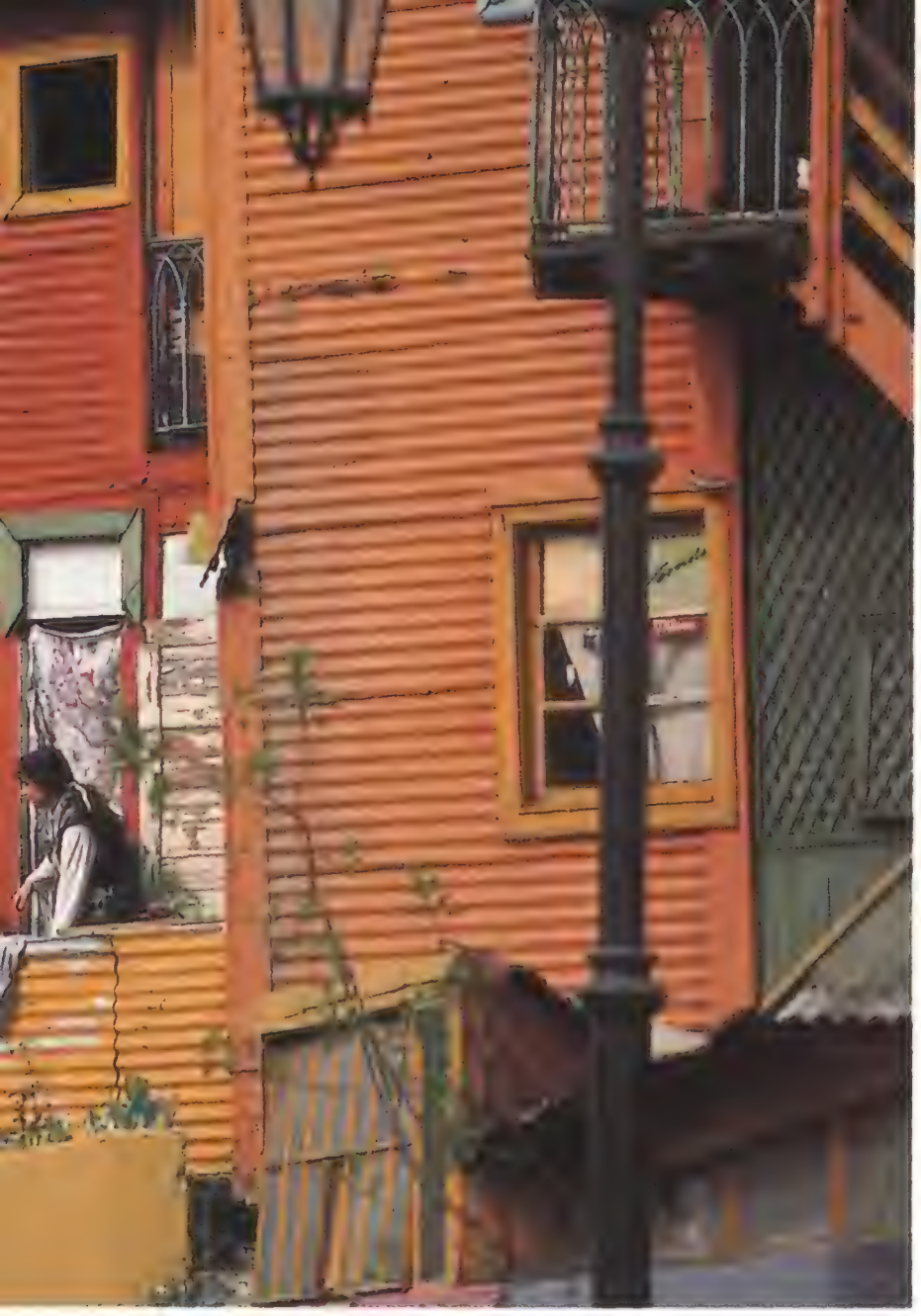
Argentine tango aficionados disagree. Buenos Aires scholar Maria Susana Azzi, author of *Antropologia del Tango* (*Anthropology of the Tango*), maintains that "in order to dance a good tango, there must be intimacy. There is no other way to do it." For the legendary Juan Carlos Copes, principal dancer and choreographer of *Tango Argentino* and probably the best-known tango dancer in the world, the emphasis is clearly on emotion: "Sometimes there is confusion that the tango is the steps. No. Tango is the feeling. It is one heart and four legs."

Indeed, to understand tango is to understand paradox. A dance for lovers, the tango can also express conflict; watching it recalls the thrust and parry of a fencing match performed cheek-to-cheek. It's also a dance of the poor that became the entertainment of the rich. Like a scoundrel ancestor, the tango's shady past made it an unlikely candidate for blue-blooded company.

Most tango scholars agree that the dance arose during the 19th century when disenfranchised cultures collided in the port cities of Buenos Aires and Montevideo. There were Africans, many of them former slaves, who contributed the syncopated rhythms of the dance. There were the gauchos, the fiercely independent mestizo cowboys of the Argentine pampas, who brought their guitar-backed ballads, colorful dress and proud posture. And there were the European immigrants, mostly from Italy and Spain, who flooded the *arrabales*–the tenements on the cities' outskirts. They brought the fiddle, the bandoneón (a concertina-like German instrument with a characteristic doleful quality) and the sadness of displacement that pervades the lyrics of the tango. (A typical sentiment, from the hit "Yira Yira," runs like this: "You'll see that everything is a lie, that nothing is love, that to the world nothing is important . . . don't expect any help or a hand or a good deed.")

From this multicultural stew bubbled the tango's romantic steam: its image as a pastime of brothels and drinking halls, its legend as a dance of conquest. One of its early purveyors was the *compadrito*, "a folk antihero somewhere between a bully, a thief and a pimp,"

Chiori Santiago, a freelance writer and music critic based in Berkeley, California, wrote about sculptor Luis Jimenez in the March issue.



The street was named for a famous tango song; its music was written by a composer who lived nearby.

In a tile from the 1930s on a wall in La Boca, a pair moves to the strains of a bandonéon and a guitar.

Powers explains. His swagger became part of the dance, and that swagger proved irresistible.

By 1912 the tango was flexing its proletariat limbs in Europe's finest salons, where "half of Paris rubs up against the other half," moaned a contemporary critic. Imagine a room full of society's stalwarts suddenly breaking into the lambada at a trustees' dinner, and you have an idea of the shock value the tango conveyed. Indeed, the tango and other dances were banned in some American towns, their practitioners threatened with arrest. In some conservative communities women even wore padded "bumpers" around their waists to prevent dangerously close contact with male partners.

Still, like any forbidden fruit, the tango held the fascination of good folk yearning for a little naughtiness–although dancers Vernon and Irene Castle toned down the dance in 1913, devising a more proper American form that avoided tight embrace. It wasn't until after World War II that the tango stepped aside to make way for the faster, easier steps of the fox-trot, the jitterbug and, finally, rock'n'roll. For a tiny but growing elite, however, the tango remains the dance of choice. Inspired by the memory of *Tango Argentino,* these are the fans who eagerly await the tango competitions held in Columbus, Ohio, each November; who support such groups as the New York-Buenos Aires Connection, the only active "new tango" band in the country; who filled Lincoln Center's Fountain Plaza last year for a night of tango; and who pack the annual Tango Week at Stanford each summer.

They are the ones who keep alive the legends of the tango's folk heroes–composers such as Pascual Contursi and Enrique Santos Discepolo; bandleaders such as Francisco Canaro; dancers like El Cachafaz. Above them all is Carlos Gardel, the stylish singer who popularized the tango song worldwide before dying, at the height of his fame, in a plane accident in 1935. So linked is he with the tango that aficionados dub themselves "Gardelianos"; 60 years after Gardel's death, he's attained cult stature in Argentina. Just as Elvis Presley haunts our country's imagination–and its shopping malls–with his ghostly presence, Gardel's spirit fills Buenos Aires. Known as "*el zorzal*" ("the thrush") he watches over the city in a thousand incarnations. His image grins on handbills, songbooks, billboards. It is enshrined on the walls of bars and dance halls. If you wander the city late at night, natives say, you may even glimpse his phantom strolling the dim corners of his favorite barrio, unmistakable in his tailor-made suit and trademark trilby. It is that spirit I have come to Buenos Aires to find.

My search has begun closer to home, however, in San Francisco, at a *milonga* (a tango party) thrown by the Bay Area's foremost tango instructor, Nora Dinzelbacher. Part of a well-known tango family that includes the Dinzels, stars of *Tango Argentino,* Dinzelbacher moved from Buenos Aires to California six years ago with her husband, Raúl, to help run the Society Gardeliana and promote a local tango scene. Widowed three years ago, she carries on alone, teaching and arranging milongas.

It occurs to me as I search the dark downtown streets

for the Renaissance Ballroom that the tango's origins in the slums parallel its presence in the City by the Bay. In San Francisco, at least, the tango hasn't moved out of the seedier part of town. If there is a milonga here, it's sequestered behind the sturdy iron gate that faces me; getting through it is like maneuvering through the portals of a speakeasy. Once I'm buzzed inside, I'm thrown into a bygone era where men wear tuxedos and women preen in clinging gowns frosted with sequins and fringe. The couture, like the tango itself, teeters between elegant and tawdry. A stereo pulses the music of moaning violin and bandoneón as couples practice the *ochos* and *ganchos* of the Argentine tango–featuring the slicing footwork that gives the dance its duel-like quality.

This dance floor is dedicated to the Argentine tango, mind you. Rivalries between various schools of tango are intense and uncompromising. Practitioners of the Argentine form scoff at the bland American tango and guffaw at the stylized poses of the International tango, which is danced primarily in competitions.

"The forms of tango are like stages of a marriage," explains Barbara Garvey as she rests on the sidelines. Garvey, a true *tanguera*, and her husband Al go on an annual pilgrimage to Buenos Aires just to make the rounds of the milongas. "The American tango is like the beginning of a love affair, when you're both very romantic and on your best behavior," she says. "The Argentine tango is when you're in the heat of things and all kinds of emotions are flying: passion, anger, humor. The International tango is like the end of the marriage, when you're staying together for the sake of the children." As she and Al "ocho" crisply over the parquet, it's clear that after 34 years of marriage, they're still in the Argentine phase.

"One of the reasons Carlos Gardel is so important is that he epitomized so many things about the tango," Garvey says. "First of all, he was a bastard–he was just a little outside of respectability. Secondly, he was the image of the Argentine male: dark, handsome, perfectly dressed, hair slicked back. Finally, he was a bachelor.

The face of tango in Buenos Aires: at left, Sunday dancers at Plaza Dorrego; above, regulars at the weekly Sin Rumbo *milonga*.

He apparently had a mistress but was devoted to '*la barra y la vieja*'–to his circle of male friends and to his mother, Doña Berta." She smiles. "In Buenos Aires, people speak of Gardel as if he's still alive. There's a saying about him down there: '*Cada dia canta mejor*'–'Every day he sings better.' And it's true. You'll see."

Whoever named Argentina's capital "good airs" could never have imagined standing on a fume-choked corner of Buenos Aires' theater district, or breathing the acrid perfume belching from the rear of an antiquated TAVAS bus as it careens down Corrientes Avenue without regard for speed limits or pedestrians. This once sleepy outpost on the Río de la Plata–abandoned once by Spanish colonialists–has grown into an urban center with the cosmopolitan flavor of Paris, the bustle of New York and more potholes per capita than the two cities combined.

It was to this neighborhood that a Frenchwoman, Berthe Gardes, made her way in 1893 with her 2-year-old son, Charles. In this new country she could pose as a widow, masking her child's illegitimacy. She found work as an ironing woman and lodging in the tenements that shared the block with vaudeville houses and cabarets. Adopting the accent of his new home, tiny Charles Gardes became the Hispanicized Carlos Gardel.

As a teenager, he delighted the neighbors with his singing. Later, he worked as a sceneshifter for local opera companies, listening to arias that would influence his adult vocal style. During his 20s, Gardel toured first the provinces and then Europe in a duo with partner José Razzano. By the time he was 30, he had not only popularized but defined the tango song, and everyone from Argentina's President Alvear to Edward, Prince of Wales wanted to hear him do it.

Listen to a recording of Gardel's hits (you can buy them today on CDs issued by EMI-Latin and by the Spanish label El Bandoneón) and you can still be enchanted by the golden tenor that made his fortune. It is a voice perfectly suited to the emotional shading of the tango, with its lyrics of lost love, lost youth and senti-

At right, instructor Miguel Angel Zotto, one of Argentina's finest younger dancers, gives a lesson to Andrea and Sebastián Missé.

All eyes move with Daniela Arcuri and Armando Orzuza at a monthly dance held by the Friends of Tango in Queens, New York. The event is echoed nationwide.

mental memories. Such laments as "Volver" ("To Return"), "Tomo Y Obligo" ("I Drink, and So Must You"), "Amargura" ("Bitterness") and "Cuesta Abajo" ("Downward Slope") are woven into the fabric of Buenos Aires.

On a Sunday afternoon in the Plaza Dorrego, the weekly *feria*, or flea market, is in full swing. A young couple shows off their tango in a corner of the square, scraping their shoes against the rough stones and passing the hat afterward. Shoppers browse the antique stores along the plaza. Above the bustle, an accordion wheezes, a lilting tenor soars. "*Sentir . . . que es un soplo la vida*," it croons, and old men rock in their folding chairs and sigh. "To feel that life is but a puff of wind," goes the song, but for Gardel impersonator Carlos Luján, his idol is eternal. He finishes "Volver" to a smattering of applause from passers-by. Luján and his accompanist, Antonio Marcias, have offered "*todo el repertorio de Gardel*" ("the whole Gardel repertoire") on this street every Sunday for eight years, he says. "Tourists think I am Gardel," Luján adds, indicating the Gardel posters he's taped to the wall behind him. "They don't know he's dead."

I wonder if the city's frequent Gardel sightings may be attributed to Carlos Luján. If Gardel's ghost does roam old Buenos Aires, there isn't much left for him to visit. Most of his childhood homes have disappeared. Even his last home, a modest one-story dwelling near the now deserted Abasto market, is boarded up. It was a tango club until the owner died not long ago. The neighborhood subway stop is named for Gardel, and there's a short street nearby that also bears his name. But the singer's most prominent monument is his very last abode, in Chacarita Cemetery.

In this miniature city of Gothic crypts, the unpretentious, boxy tomb where Carlos and Doña Berta eternally reside would be easily missed if not for the life-size statue that adorns it. This image of Gardel wearing evening clothes and a wide grin–the figure is known as "the bronze that smiles"–is surrounded by plaques from tango clubs in Berlin and Mexico City, Toulouse and Tampa, Peru and Panama. Fresh flowers wreathe its feet, and between its fingers is the cold stub of a cigarette (p. 160).

As I study the plaques, visitors drift up to caress the tomb, then step back to record their encounters on videotape. An elderly woman approaches, crossing herself. She lights a cigarette, turning to me with a plea in her eyes. Obligingly, I clamber up the side of the tomb to replace Gardel's spent cigarette with her fresh one; for a second, I rest my hand on the singer's bronze shoulder, warm from the sun.

When I jump to the ground the woman, Doña Neli, bursts into a chatter of thanksgiving. She gives me careful instructions: I am to photograph the tomb and place the picture in my home with offerings of flowers and glasses of water. "Promise me you'll do this–it's very powerful," she says.

I nod. This encounter is only a hint of the tidal wave of benediction that surrounds this spot each June 24, the date of Gardel's fatal accident. On that day, Buenos Aires pays homage to its favorite son with bouquets and prayers and tearful reminiscences. "Gardel has a quasi-religious dimension," explains Azzi. "There are even young people who feel that way, who never knew him as a singing star." Perhaps it is because Gardel worked a miracle of sorts: he made it out of the barrio.

One man who's cornered the market in Gardel images is 68-year-old collector Bruno Cespi, whose apartment is a few blocks from Chacarita. When I arrive, he

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Figure of Carlos Gardel, cigarette in hand, oversees ceremony at his grave on anniversary of Gardel's death.

sizes me up, then nods approval. "You look like Lolita Torres, the popular singer," he says, ushering me into the dim room where he spends much of his day. Every inch of wall space is filled with sepia photographs of tango stars. Portraits of Gardel, framed in gilt, take up one wall. A glass case is filled with memorabilia, including Gardel's passport, letters and childhood pictures.

"The great thing about Gardel was the way he could convey the barbarism, the emotion, of a tune," says Cespi, as he pops a tape into a battered boom box. It contains one of the earliest recordings by the Gardel-Razzano duo. Through a fog of scratches rises that voice, unmistakable, swooping and falling, the guitar thrumming behind. Cespi closes his eyes and sways.

It's not a song that sweeps the young off their feet, though, and Cespi saddens to think that the tango may be due for retirement. It's true that the standing-room-only crowd filling Teatro San Martin for the free weekly concert by La Orquesta del Tango de Buenos Aires is uniformly gray-maned. It is true that the orchestra's fan club, Las Aves del Mismo Plumaje (Birds of a Feather), are mostly retirees. But in the words of Gardel's "Volver": "*siempre se vuelve al primer amor*" ("one always goes back to one's first love").

So it is for at least some of the next generation in Buenos Aires. On a Friday night at Akarense, a private club not far from Chacarita, the Missé family occupies their favorite table. Three of the Missé children–Andrea, 16; her brothers Sebastián, 15, and Gabriel, 13–and Gabriel's partner Araceli Morgenstern, 11, slide gracefully across the floor to a tango tune. The Missés' grandmother watches from her perch while the mothers chat. It's nearly 3 in the morning, but this is a regular family outing. Since the children began studying the tango two years ago, they've been unstoppable. Andrea hopes to perform one day. Their teacher is 35-year-old Miguel Angel Zotto, cocreator of the popular Buenos Aires stage show *Tango X2*.

"Everyone says tango belongs to old people," Andrea observes. "It's weird to see young people dancing it. My friends think I'm wasting my time. They go to discos and cinemas while I'm practicing. I don't think I'm wasting my time–I'm expressing my feelings from my feet."

Sebastián nods. "It's a happy way to dance, it has a lot of spirit. I like rock too, like Metallica, but I also like Osvaldo Pugliese, Francisco Canaro, the stuff from the '30s and '40s. Gardel is one of the best singers in history." The young man's face takes on an expression of gravity. "It's important for Argentines to know their national music, but it's hard to respect one's own culture. It's easier to go for stuff from the U.S."

Pedro Chemes, 28, echoes that sentiment a few days later as we sit in his sunny front room sipping strong *mate* tea. A classically trained guitarist, Chemes is leader of El Cuarteto de la Ochava, a young foursome that specializes in the "tango of a hundred years ago, before the bandoneón," he explains. His arrangements for two guitars, violin and flute reflect the pure, simple sound of the tango as it was originally performed in Buenos Aires' portside barrios, where the music was developed.

"Tango is very individualistic music. During the dictatorships, taking away tango was a way of taking away the expression of a people. So they made it very hard for tango artists to work, and they numbed us with rock'n'roll instead. I think that's why tango will catch on again with the young. It's new for us. In a way, it's revolutionary."

There are signs that Chemes is right. Men and women in their 20s flock to Miguel Zotto's Monday evening classes, then practice their steps at home to the tunes of FM Tango, Buenos Aires' 24-hour tango radio station. A University of Tango has just opened under the auspices of the municipal government, where students of all ages attend classes in tango history, dance and poetry. Across town in the chic Recoleta neighborhood, dancer Juan Carlos Copes' tango show at the posh Hippopotamus club showcases his 14-year-old daughter, Johana, in disco style, infusing the tango form with new energy. At midnight, black-and-yellow taxis ferry passengers to smoky dance halls where tangueros are just warming up. And at Chacarita, Carlos Gardel–an eternally fresh cigarette nestled in his bronze fingers–smiles down at the relentless cycle of life in the city he loved.

Framed by pictures of his hero, Gardel impersonator Carlos Luján performs as he has done for eight years.

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Spindly-legged Knute Rockne, captain of 1913 Notre Dame team, practiced scowl before big Army game.

By Ken Chowder

When Notre Dame needed inspiration, Rockne provided it

The legendary coach of the Fighting Irish is remembered for his fiery speeches, but Knute wasn't all talk. His record speaks for itself

A couple of years ago, a 21-year-old junior dropped out of college to play a little professional football. His contract was worth around $26 million, plus a share in the franchise. His school, the University of Notre Dame, had already signed an estimated $38 million contract with NBC for the right to televise its home football games. Notre Dame, observed rival coach Joe Paterno of Penn State, had gone from "an academic institute to a banking institute."

Once upon a time, but not so very long ago, the football team of that same college traveled from its South Bend, Indiana, campus to West Point, New York, to play Army. The year was 1913. Notre Dame had some 500 students. The football squad had 18 players but only 14 pairs of cleats. To save money, the team took along sandwiches and fruit.

But things were about to change–for Notre Dame, for football and for sports in general. In a few years, what was once a simple pastime would become mass entertainment, big business and a source of tremendous passion. Destined to play a pivotal role in that revolution was the captain of the 1913 Notre Dame team–a balding, 165-pound end named Knute Rockne.

Only a short time before, Rockne had been a postal clerk in Chicago. He was the son of immigrants, a high school dropout, a nobody. When he died a little more than two decades later, however, his passing was described as "a national loss" by President Herbert Hoover. "For millions," one newspaper wrote, Rockne "was greater than the President of the United States." A

Standing on train platform, Rockne, flanked by Tom Conley (right) and Frank Carideo, looked more like gang chief and henchmen than coach and players. The team was leaving for a 1930 game in California.

Lutheran by birth, he became a symbol of Catholicism to countless Americans. His meteoric rise to something approaching national sainthood had all the elements of the classic American success story, but he accomplished it in a way that had never been done before. He did it by coaching football.

To many of us today, the name Rockne means rather little. Some might remember the 1940 Hollywood film in which Pat O'Brien, as Rockne, watches a young Ronald Reagan, as star halfback George Gipp, give a tear-jerking deathbed speech. "Win just one for the Gipper," Reagan pleads. A few rabid fans may recall that in his 13 years as head coach at Notre Dame, Rockne lost only a dozen games, but he was much more than a coach. He was an uncommonly shrewd promoter of his team, his sport, his school and himself. He was by no means the creator of modern football, but he did help reinvent the sport and change what it meant, how much we care about it and why.

In the beginning, it was only a game. Notre Dame's first intercollegiate contest was in 1887, against a touring team from the University of Michigan. Michigan's victory was not exactly an upset. The visitors had to teach Notre Dame the rules. "What the football eleven needs most is a coacher," the student newspaper declared. "If a good man were obtained for two or three weeks there would be a great improvement." For years, the team's opponents mostly consisted of small colleges and included such organizations as the Illinois Cycling Club, the Indianapolis Artillery, the Chicago Physicians and Surgeons.

Knute Rockne's life began a long way from both football and Notre Dame. His family emigrated from Norway when he was 5. He grew up in the tough Logan

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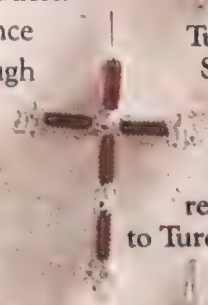

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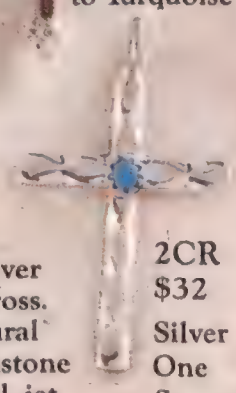

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Square neighborhood on Chicago's North Side and was expelled from high school for cutting classes. For more than three years, he worked in a local post office. He saved his money and in 1910 followed two pals to Notre Dame. He showed up at the Roman Catholic institution with a suitcase, a receding hairline (by then he was 22) and a thousand dollars. He felt, he said, the "strangeness of being a lone Norse Protestant invader of a Catholic stronghold."

The Norse invader did well. He ran, pole-vaulted, put the shot, long-jumped and worked at several jobs. For extra money, he sparred in boxing matches at local clubs. When he discovered that members of the school band earned $1 a concert, he joined it as a flutist. He taught chemistry at a prep school while he was still an undergraduate. Meanwhile, the ham in him came out in campus theatricals–portraying, for example, an Indian woman in *Girl of the Golden West.* But his real stage was Cartier Field, where he played football. At that time, Carti-

George Gipp, a terror on and off the field, led Irish to two unbeaten seasons.

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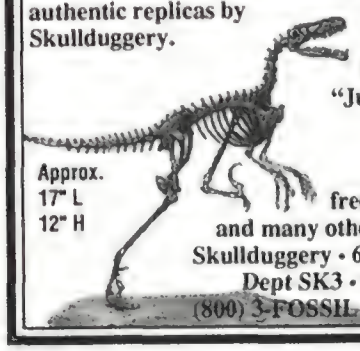

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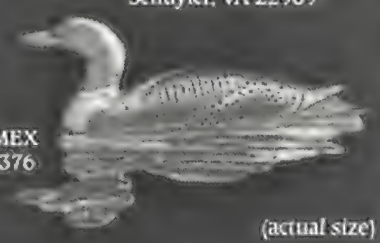

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Fabulous 1920s backfield, the so-called Four Horsemen, consisted of (from left) Don Miller, Elmer Layden, Jim Crowley and Harry Stuhldreher.

er "stadium" had wooden bleachers, no toilets and a capacity of 2,500.

The game they played then was different. "In the old days," Rockne later recalled, "it was nothing but power, sheer power. . . . The eleven heaviest men were the first team." The forward pass became legal in 1906 but was seldom used, mainly because an incomplete pass was the same as a fumble–it could be recovered by either side. For years it was illegal to throw the ball more than 20 yards downfield. After the rules changed yet again in 1912, so that an incomplete pass was no longer a fumble and players could throw the ball as far as they liked, Rockne and Notre Dame quarterback Gus Dorais went to work.

Dorais had a knack for passing. Even though the old ball was shaped like a watermelon, he could throw it long and with pinpoint accuracy. Rockne, for his part, had to learn how to catch Dorais' passes on the run. "[We] spent a whole summer vacation at Cedar Point on Lake Erie," Rockne wrote in his autobiography. "In the early days the players threw [the football] and caught it much like a medicine ball . . . in a hugging grab. We mastered the technique of catching the football with hands relaxed."

The 1913 game at West Point has often been described as a pivotal moment in the sport. Undefeated Army was an established Eastern power; Notre Dame was regarded as a relative upstart from the Midwest. But Notre Dame had the pass and it also had a consummate actor playing end. Rockne emerged from one pileup faking a limp. "The halfback covering me almost yawned in my face, he was that bored," Rockne recounted. A few plays later, the supposedly injured receiver put on a burst of speed, bolted free and caught a shockingly long pass. "Everybody seemed astonished," Rockne said.

Dorais completed 13 of 17 passes for

Author Ken Chowder wrote the documentary "Knute Rockne and the Fighting Irish," which was shown earlier this year on PBS.

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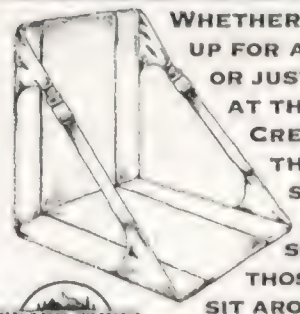

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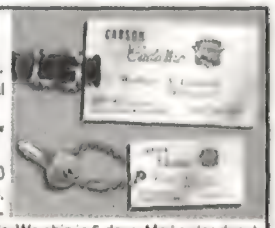

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243 yards, and Notre Dame won 35-13. The *New York Times* reported: "The yellow leather egg was in the air half the time. . . . The Army players were hopelessly confused and chagrined."

Rockne graduated magna cum laude in 1914. He married Bonnie Skiles, started a family and stayed on at Notre Dame as chemistry instructor, track coach and assistant football coach. When the head football coach stepped down, Rockne got the job.

The centerpiece of the new coach's offense was a slashing runner named George Gipp (SMITHSONIAN, December 1985). Gipp was good at a lot of things–football and baseball, yes, and also ballroom dancing, craps, cardsharking and pool-hustling–but he didn't seem to care much about anything. In his first baseball game, he was ordered to bunt; instead, he swung away and blasted a tremendous home run. When he returned to the dugout, the manager asked why he had disobeyed orders. "It's too hot to run bases today," Gipp said.

Gipp did get around to playing football. He led Notre Dame to two straight unbeaten years, becoming the school's first first-string All-American, but he was never the embodiment of the all-American boy. In one game, Notre Dame was behind at the half; delivering his pep talk during the intermission, Rockne noticed Gipp taking a casual drag on a cigarette.

"What about you, Gipp?" Rockne said. "I don't suppose you have any interest in this game?"

"Look, Rock," Gipp said. "I got $400 bet on this game, and I'm not about to blow it." He had a spectacular second half, led the team to victory and racked up nearly 400 yards of offense during the game. The opposing coach marveled, "Gipp is no football player. He's a runaway sonofabitch."

Gipp skipped classes and practices almost at will. One year he showed up three weeks late for school, missing two football games without explanation. The next year he bypassed the small nuisance called final examina-

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Rockne imparted wisdom at coaches' clinic in California. As his fame grew, he developed such camps into a business.

tions. He lived off-campus, at the Oliver Hotel in downtown South Bend, so he could carouse all night playing pool or cards. "I made it my undeviating rule to handle the boys without . . . favoritism," Rockne maintained, but Gipp was an exception. At times the coach felt it necessary to personally escort his star player to class, just to keep him eligible.

In Gipp's senior year, the Northwestern game was designated "George Gipp Day," but the honoree had a high fever and rode the bench. For three quarters, the disappointed crowd chanted his name. Finally Rockne put him in; Gipp immediately threw two long touchdown passes. Three days later, he was admitted to the hospital. His fever soon turned into pneumonia and on December 14, 1920, he died.

In the years to come, Rockne would begin to create the now familiar legendary version of George Gipp–a sanitized, "improved" Gipp. "A check-up on his habits showed him with fewer than the usual faults of star athletes," Rockne wrote. "Everybody who knew him . . . called [him] 'a great guy'. . . . A boy does well indeed who, so young, leaves the clean glory of a name behind. May his soul rest in peace!"

Eight years after Gipp's death, Rockne put the legend he had constructed to good use. It was his worst season as coach; before it was over the team would lose four times. A day or two before the toughest game on Notre Dame's schedule, against unbeaten Army, Rockne read a couple of glowing newspaper accounts about Gipp's heroics that, according to the sports historian Murray Sperber, may have given him a brilliant idea. On the eve of the game, in New York, Rockne supposedly told

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sportswriter Grantland Rice, "Gipp's been gone a long time, but I may have to use him tomorrow." In his new book on the origins of Notre Dame football, *Shake Down the Thunder* (published by Henry Holt), Sperber reveals that Rice was actually en route to another game in Georgia that he was to cover for the *Herald-Tribune* the next day. In any case, at halftime the coach delivered a rousing locker-room speech about Gipp.

As that peroration was later immortalized by Hollywood, Rockne told his players that, as Gipp neared death, he had said, "Some time, Rock, when the team is up against it . . . tell them to go in there with all they've got and win just one for the Gipper. I don't know where I'll be then, Rock. But I'll know about it, and I'll be happy." Notre Dame, of course, went out and won that one for the Gipper–or at least that's how Rockne (and, according to Sperber, the ghostwriter who helped fashion his autobiography) told the story. Most sports historians doubt that Gipp's deathbed speech ever happened.

Rockne's fabrication of the Gipp myth was only one aspect of a much bigger image-building job. He was greatly responsible for transforming Notre Dame football from a game to a cause. Michael Steele, in his book on Rockne, writes that Gipp was the "chivalric, romantic martyr that . . . [was] needed to sanctify the game."

Ever the coach, Rockne checks his son's golf grip while vacationing at a beach.

In 1929, sidelined with acute phlebitis from a leg injury, Rockne sometimes rode to practices in a hearse and coached from a stretcher with a microphone.

The next martyr, not so many years later, would be Rockne himself.

In the 1920s, America truly went sports-crazy. For the first time, athletes became media darlings, and football in particular became something people cared deeply about. You didn't just watch your team, you believed in it. And Notre Dame became the team that more people believed in than any other. As the university's current head coach, Lou Holtz, puts it, "There are millions of people in this world that absolutely love Notre Dame . . . and that all goes back to Rockne."

When Rockne arrived at the South Bend school there was still a powerful stigma attached to being Irish Catholic ("Irish need not apply," ran the job ads) or any other kind of Catholic, for that matter. Many if not most Catholics were impoverished immigrants; so Notre Dame became an emblem of a social class as well as a religion. Rockne transformed it into the most famous Catholic college in the country by making its football squad into something very much like a national Catholic team.

Much of this was by design. Rockne saw Notre Dame as the tough little guy, the outsider, just as he himself had been while growing up. He deeply resented the fact that the Western Conference, now called the Big Ten, had several times refused to admit Notre Dame. In 1924 Rockne's undefeated team, led by the famous backfield known as the "Four Horsemen," was invited to the Rose Bowl. When Rockne heard that Notre Dame had been given inferior tickets to the game, he whipped off a telegram: "We are no hick college and insist on equality." Later, the college president, the Rev. Matthew Walsh, adopted the official nickname of "Fighting Irish," acknowledging the widespread perception of Rockne's team. Notre Dame seemed to be fighting for all Irish and all Catholics.

That identity made the school a natural target for the wrath of the resurgent Ku Klux Klan, which organized a huge rally in South Bend in the spring of 1924. Some 35,000 Klan supporters poured into town. Klansmen and students battled with clubs and bottles,

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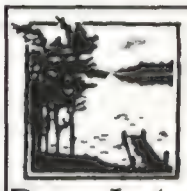

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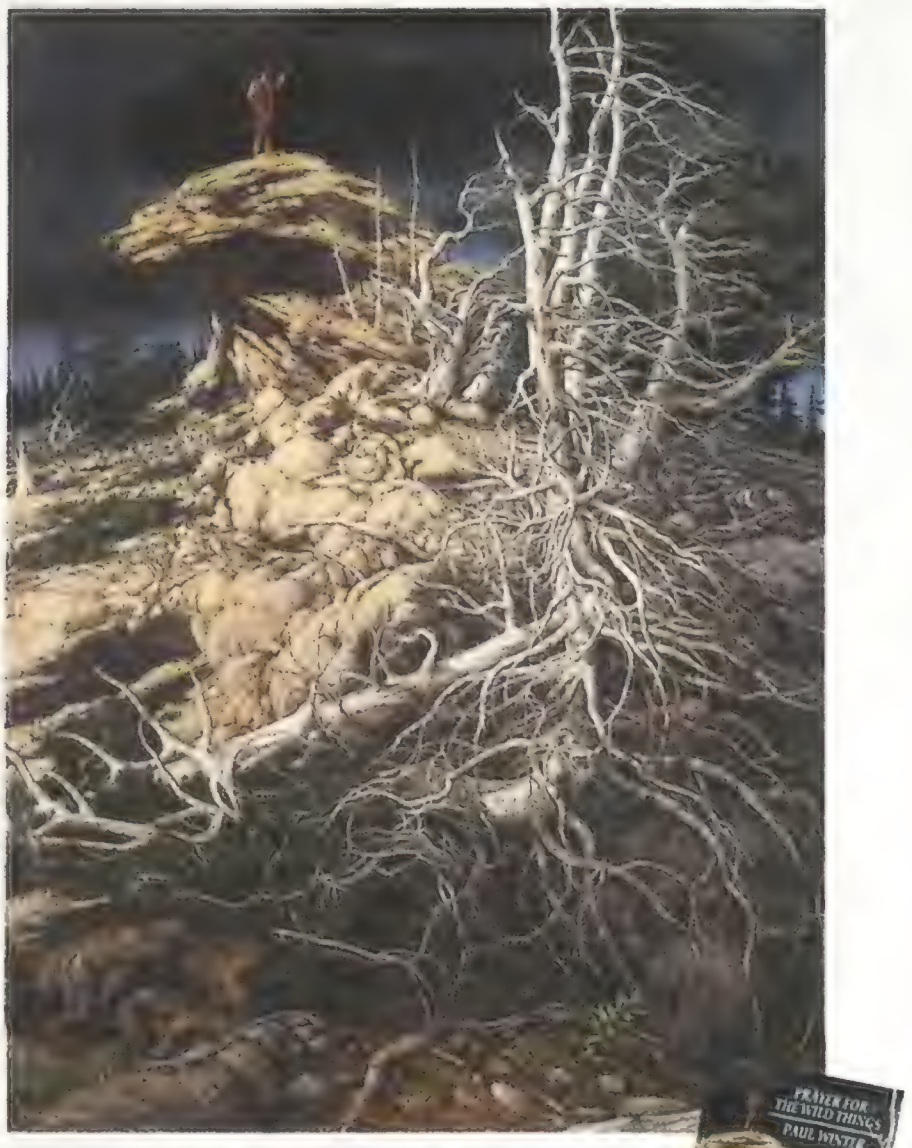

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until finally Father Walsh climbed atop the cannon at the city courthouse and implored the students to go home, and they did.

Sometime after the riot, Rockne decided to convert to Catholicism. "I am a Notre Dame boy," he said. "I know what they stand for, and I want to be one of them." To Rockne, Notre Dame, Catholicism and football were all inextricably linked. An acquaintance of his named Allen Messick described one moonlit night when Rockne asked him to take a walk. Rockne led Messick to Cartier Field where they stood together in front of the goalposts. "He seemed moved by a strong emotion," Messick recalled. "He . . . stood for a moment with eyes closed in reverence–then knelt down and kissed the sacred sod."

At Notre Dame, religion was an integral and unquestioned part of football. On game day, almost the entire school received holy communion for the team. But Rockne took the connection one step further: if religion were a part of sports, then sports would be a kind of religion in itself. For him, the game was literally something worth dying for. The moment that exemplified his attitude came during a game in 1929, in Pittsburgh.

It was an amazing year. The new Notre Dame stadium was still under construction, so every game was on the road, with the team pinballing around the country by train. Meanwhile, Rockne himself became ill. A blow to one leg resulted in acute phlebitis, sidelining him for the season–in theory, at least. But he rode to practices in a hearse and coached from a stretcher until an observation tower, equipped with microphone and loudspeakers, was built at the practice field.

His doctors had ordered him to stay away from games–the travel and excitement, they said, might dislodge the blood clot from his leg and kill him. After three weeks, Rockne could no longer tolerate his restraints. In 1926, Carnegie Tech had ended Notre Dame's long winning streak at home

while Rockne was away. This time the invalid traveled to Carnegie as if on a personal crusade. Reporter Francis Wallace was in the dressing room that day. "The door opened. Assistant coach Tom Lieb came in, carrying Rockne in his arms, as if he were a baby. Lieb placed Rockne on a table. Dr. Keady was whispering: '[If] he lets go and that clot dislodges . . . he's got an even chance of never leaving this dressing room alive.'

"'I don't care what happens after today,' Rockne said to his team; and then he began to shout. 'Why do you think I'm taking a chance like this? To see you lose? . . . Go out there and crack 'em. Crack 'em. *Crack 'em.* Fight to live. Fight to win. Fight to live. *Fight to win, win, win, WIN!*'"

Notre Dame won that day, and swept through its 1929 season without defeat. Clearly Rockne realized the value of having his team, and himself, stand for something–and the value was literal as well as symbolic. In Rockne's second year as head coach, his undefeated team (starring George Gipp) had drawn only 56,500 spectators for the whole season. Eight years later, 120,000 fans squeezed into Soldier Field in Chicago to witness a single game. Profits for a season soon exceeded a half-million dollars, and Rockne's budget for uniforms was $15,400–about as much as the school library spent for books. The Fighting Irish had become big business.

It was no accident. "Rockne's entire approach," writes Michael Steele, "was to increase the spectator appeal of the game." His offense was built around the clever razzle-dazzle known as the

In the 1940 film *Knute Rockne, All-American*, Pat O'Brien (left) as Rockne drills players in the intricate steps of the famous "Notre Dame Shift."

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The Shift was so successful that the rules committee of the Coaches Association of Intercollegiate Football twice tried to stop it. In response, Rockne needled the committee, saying he would have to change to the "cow-minded, hippopotamus-chassied type [of player]. If you see a picture of the Notre Dame team around four years from now, you'll notice the bovine expressions, the ox-knuckle ankles predominating. And the fellow with the mustache, doing the best he can to exude an aroma of strategic cunning, that'll be me."

Rockne did exude an aroma of strategic cunning. He often used a group of second-stringers as shock troops to begin a game. Then, after they had softened up the opposition's best players, he would send in his own best players. In the era of one-platoon football, he liked to bring in specialists for particular situations, such as Johnny (One-Play) O'Brien, whom Rockne sent in specifically to catch the winning touchdown pass in the 1928 "Gipper" game. Rockne, like modern coaches, was almost scientific in his approach. He insisted that his backfield be able to synchronize their movements down to a tenth of a second. But his supreme effectiveness as a coach was due at least in part to his motivational gifts.

"I don't think Rockne ever, ever misunderstood his players," Lou Holtz has observed. When Rockne did make a halftime pep talk, it ranged from three words of disgust–"*Fighting* Irish? Bah!"–to the no-holds-barred emotional appeal. Before a big game at

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Georgia Tech, Rockne pulled out a telegram he said was from "my poor sick little boy, Billy, who is critically ill in the hospital." Jim Crowley, one of the Four Horsemen, remembered that the coach "got a lump in his throat and his lips began to tremble as he read Billy's wire: 'I want Daddy's team to win.' We won the game for Billy, and when we got home there was a big crowd to meet us . . . [including] little Billy Rockne, looking healthy enough for a Pet Milk ad."

Wreckage of the plane that crashed in 1931 with Rockne and seven other passengers aboard was scattered across a field near the town of Bazaar, Kansas.

Off the field, Rockne was the ultimate salesman. If the phenomenon of modern sports results from a marriage of game and media, Rockne was the minister who performed the ceremony. He was a public-relations whiz, much more so than any coach before him. In the off-season he traveled the banquet circuit tirelessly, keeping Notre Dame in the public eye. He was garrulous, funny and warm to reporters, and he wrote two syndicated newspaper columns a week with the assistance of ghostwriters. He obligingly re-created some of his famous pep talks for the newsreel cameras. He is said to have designed Notre Dame Stadium so the cameras could cover the action.

In his first years as coach, Rockne was also a chemistry instructor, head track coach and director of athletics, as well as director of intramurals and director of ticket sales. By 1930 he'd changed things quite a bit. He had four assistant coaches, a full-time secretary, a ticket director, student managers, business managers, squad doctors, trainers, equipment managers and a publicity agent. "I don't know what

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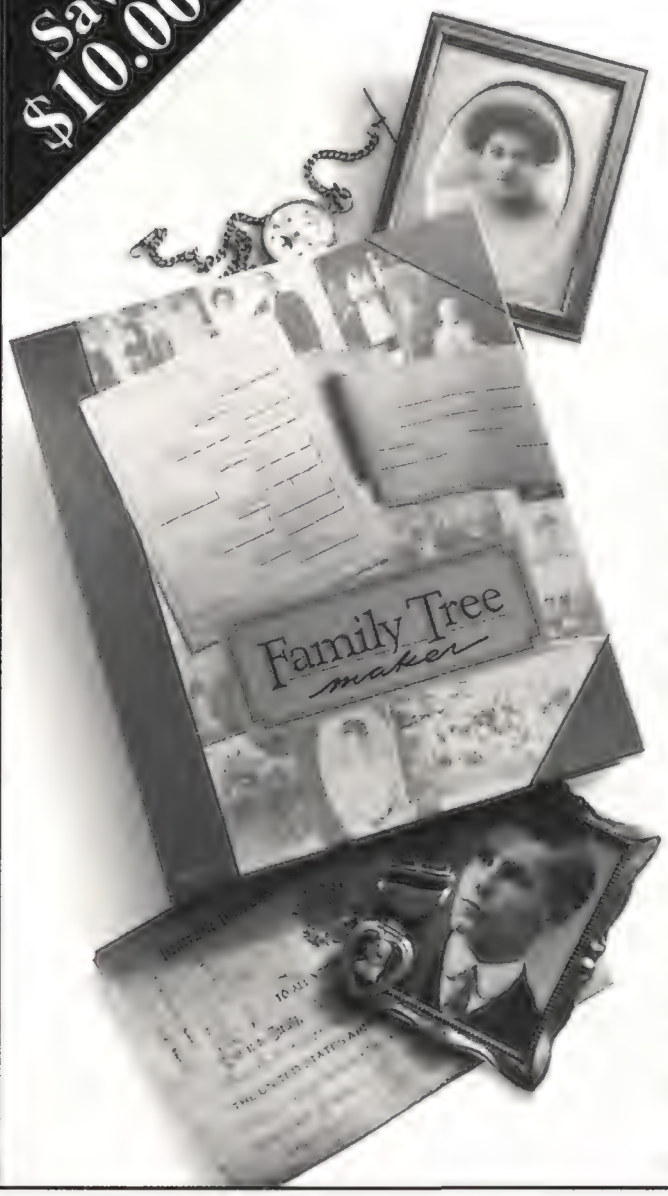

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goes on around here anymore," he said.

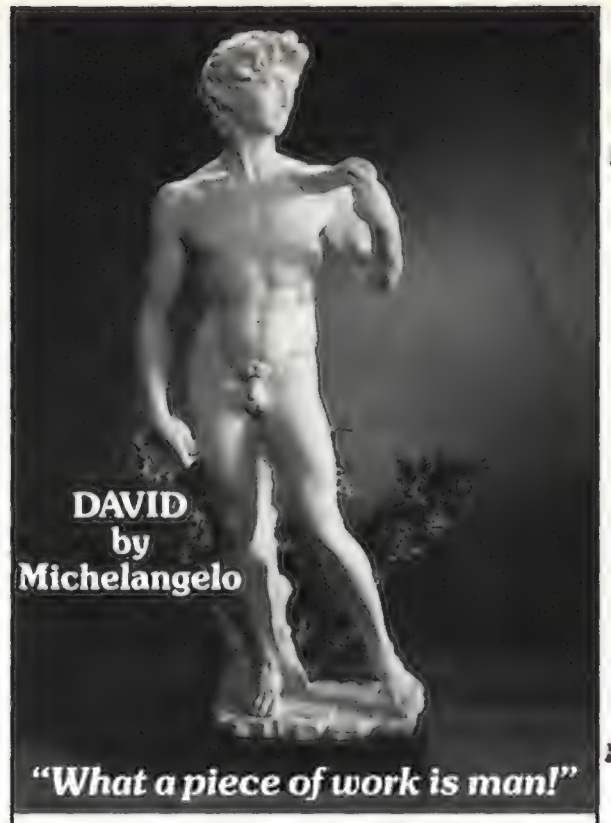
But he knew exactly what was going on. He insisted that the team carry its own drinking water on the road, just to make sure it was OK. He regulated his players' sleep and even managed their diet. He banned pastry and bananas and prescribed figs instead.

Rockne discovered the world of money in the early 1920s, says author Murray Sperber, and capitalized on his good fortune. Yes, he was a little bald guy, an average Joe; nevertheless, he was an average Joe who'd made good. He was a star, a friend of the rich and famous, and eventually he began to be paid like one.

He was one of the first coaches to establish summer clinics for other coaches; he sponsored seven or eight every year, from Massachusetts to Oregon. He worked with sporting goods companies to market his own football equipment. He worked as a stockbroker for a Cincinnati firm, and the Studebaker Corporation made him its director of sales promotion, which meant that he gave speeches boosting the automobile maker. His name was so marketable that Studebaker called one of its cars the Rockne Six.

Although his speeches were often little more than sermons that emphasized the redeeming power of football, Rockne was no saint. He liked to bet on the horses and didn't mind taking a drink or two with sportswriters.

Rockne's outside business activities brought him more money than coaching did, but they also triggered some negative publicity. The columnist Westbrook Pegler had this to say: "I see Mr. Rockne as a modest man who does not think much of himself, who is constantly amazed to find himself a great national celebrity, and who therefore wants to make all the money he can, while he can, lest the public suddenly get next to him. . . . If the public insists on regarding him as one of the greatest Americans of his time and paying him a fortune . . . far be it from Mr. Rockne to dispute the customers or refuse their money."



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Pegler's acerbic views were not widely shared. Just as Vince Lombardi, Tom Landry, Joe Gibbs, Lou Holtz and a host of other latter-day coaches have been lionized by businessmen and civic groups, Rockne was seen by many as a symbol of everything (well, nearly everything) that was right with America. Indeed, he more than anyone else was the individual who set the precedent of coach as Wise Man, Moral Leader and Counselor to the Nation.

It was only a matter of time before Hollywood beckoned. RKO and Universal Pictures both wanted him for films. So on the last day of March in 1931, Rockne boarded TransContinental Flight No. 3 in Kansas City, bound for California. The weather was so stormy that airline officials considered canceling the flight. Over Bazaar, Kansas, one of the Fokker supertrimotor's wings, covered with ice, broke away from the fuselage. The plane fell from the sky. There were no survivors.

Rockne's death shocked the nation. President Hoover wired Rockne's wife: "I know that every American grieves with you." Thousands of mourners lined the streets of South Bend to witness the funeral procession. In the years that followed, films were made about Rockne's life, biographies proliferated, monuments were erected where he was born, where he died and where he coached for 13 years.

One oft-reported story has it that when Rockne's body was located after the crash, a rosary was found clutched in his palm. That story was never verified. But what matters is that the story exists. Like his old halfback George Gipp, Rockne was a larger-than-life character transported by death from the playing field into the realm of legend. The legacy of that legend is football as we know it today–the game, the business, the passion, the hype.

At the start of Rockne's last season, in 1930, he enjoys a light moment with players. During 13 years as head coach, he lost only a dozen games.

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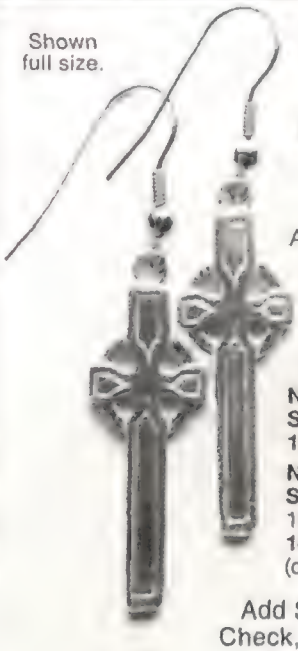

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A harvest of holiday titles

This year's children's books span past, present, Earth's four corners and the realm where dreams come true

The library in the small Midwestern river town where I grew up had its peculiarities, to be sure. Tomes on day lilies seemed, by a substantial measure, to outnumber any lesser holdings. (The garden club exercised an untoward sway over the acquisitions department.) But the redbrick rowhouse with polished, wide-planked floors and light filtering through dusty casement windows held its treasures as well.

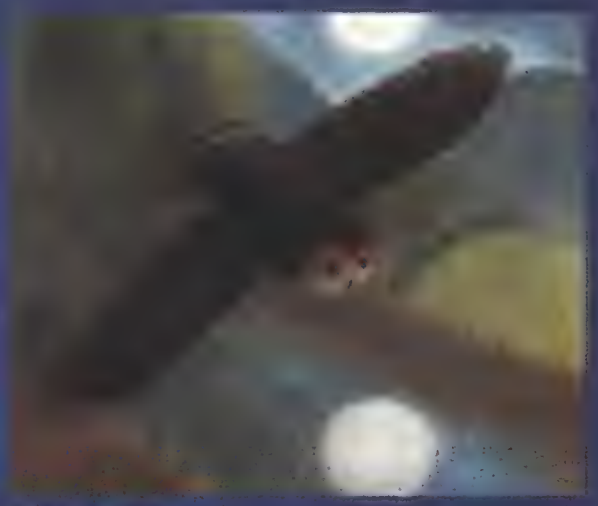
Among them were the novels of Rosemary Sutcliff, tucked in the sturdy oak shelves labeled "Young Adult." I have never quite understood why certain books should be confined to that netherworld between child and adult. Sutcliff's historical novels, regarded by many as the finest juvenile fiction written in this century, possess a power and a grace that make a mockery of such classifications.

Everything Sutcliff turned her hand to–stories spanning the Bronze Age to the 18th century; the retelling of the Arthurian legends–shone with her intelligence and inspired immersion in the past. But the most splendid of all her works are the novels of Roman Britain. *Eagle of the Ninth*, *The Silver Branch* and *The Lantern Bearers* chronicle a clash of cultures, Saxon and Latin and Norse, and introduce unforgettable heroes–among them the legionary Marcus and young cavalryman Aquila.

They are demanding books, offering passage to a world where battles are lost as well as won and the wages of integrity can be defeat. The novels shimmer with a grasp of history that is akin to the clairvoyant: Sutcliff's titles are said to inhabit

Wild Fox: A True Story by Cherie Mason, illustrated by Jo Ellen McAllister Stammen

Mac & Marie & the Train Toss Surprise by Elizabeth Fitzgerald Howard, illustrated by Gail Gordon



Fly By Night
by June Crebbin,
illustrated by Stephen Lambert

Abuela's Weave
by Omar S. Castañeda,
illustrated by Enrique O. Sanchez

The Gift
by Aliana Brodmann,
illustrated by Anthony Carnabuci

Sweet Clara and the Freedom Quilt
by Deborah Hopkinson,
illustrated by James Ransome

the bookshelves of many an archaeologist.

From her 20s on, Sutcliff wrote steadily, morning to night, from the English countryside. By the time of her death last year, at 72, she had published more than 50 titles. And she left several completed manuscripts, two of them representing a new venture into picture stories. These tales for younger readers are among the most winning of this year's books for children.

It was as if, at the end of a long and distinguished career, she wished to indulge her sense of the whimsical in full measure. Both titles, published by Candlewick Press in Cambridge, Massachusetts, are testament to the versatility of her talents.

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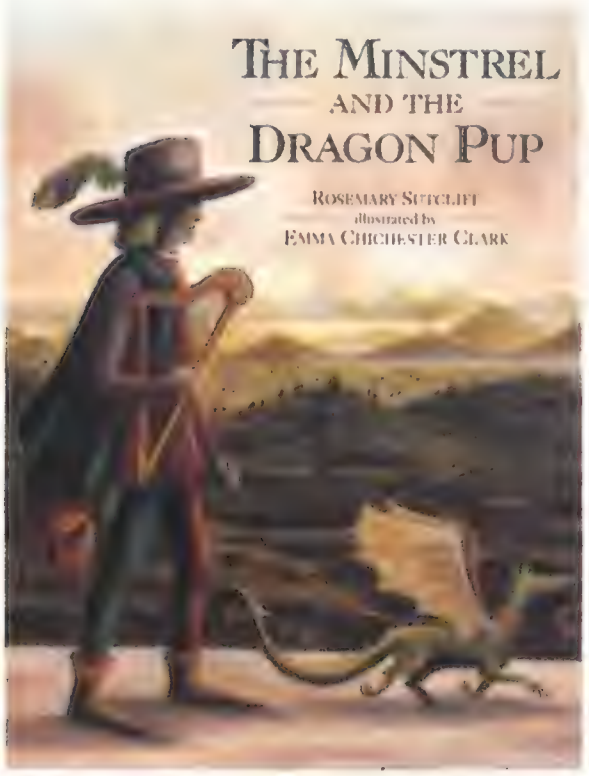

(\$16.95) was suggested to her by the preeminent British wildlife artist Ralph Thompson (he eventually illustrated the story). The tale is, aptly, rooted in history. Among the holdings of the British Museum and the Scottish National Museum are pieces of the Lewis Chessmen, extraordinary 12th-century Scandinavian chess pieces carved in walrus ivory. Eight hundred years ago, kings and nobles gathered in some northern redoubt to match wits and move these rooks and pawns across a board.

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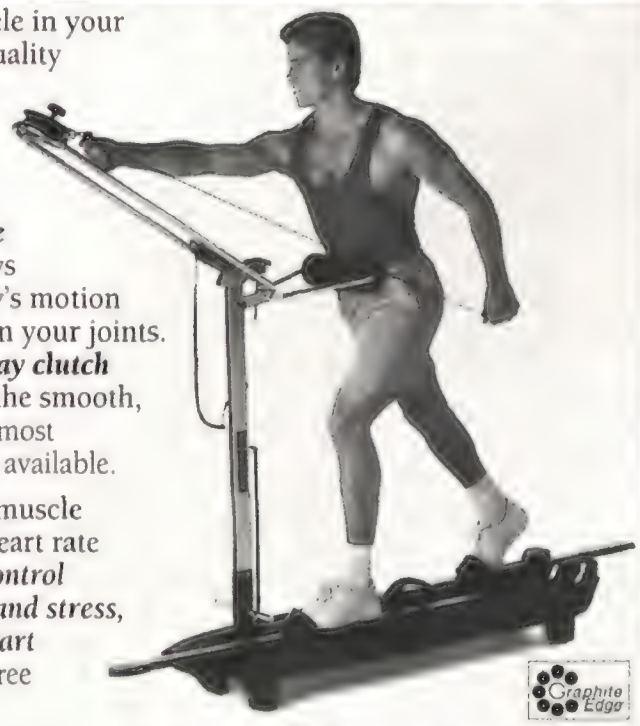

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Dumpling Soup
by Jama Kim Rattigan,
illustrated by Lillian Hsu-Flanders

ers and children alike. **The Minstrel and the Dragon Pup** ($16.95) also has its origins in the medieval world: a troubador wanders the byways of a distant kingdom, his only possession his lute, and his only companion his dragon pup. If you should raise an eyebrow at that, Sutcliff will set you straight, and most emphatically, on the truth about dragons:

"Now there are two mistakes that most people make about dragons: they think that they are as big as houses, and they think that they are fire-breathing fierce by nature. Actually they only stand about as high as a Shetland pony when they are full grown, and though they are three times as long, more than half of that is tail. And they are only fierce because their mothers teach them that all humans are dangerous, and that knights on white horses are the most dangerous of the breed."

The touching tale of the minstrel's devotion to his winged charge (a happy ending is guaranteed) is illustrated, with surpassing acumen, by Emma Chichester Clark. Renowned for the images she has created for scores of picture books, Clark looked long and lovingly at the paintings of Piero della Francesca as she began work on *The Minstrel and the Dragon Pup*. Her watercolors glow with a dusky light, suggesting an afternoon long ago in Mantua. Sutcliff would have approved, wholeheartedly. This is a book children will cherish for years to come.

They will cherish any number of this year's other titles as well, stories steeped in enduring affections, in merriment and in promises kept. From the remote fastness of a Norwegian mountain village to the shores of Lake Titicaca to the streets of New York to the rain forest of Indonesia, there is kindness, there is laughter, there is courage, there is hope.

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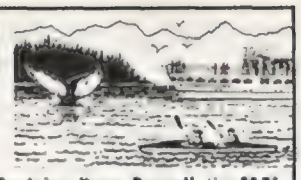

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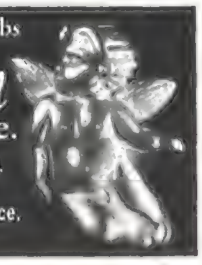

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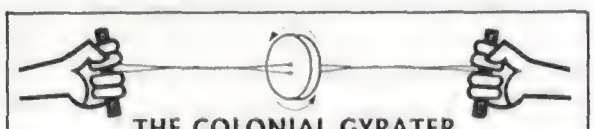

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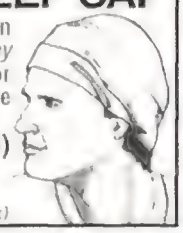

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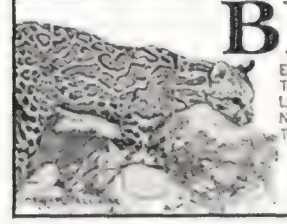

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Nana's Birthday Party by Amy Hest, illustrated by Amy Schwartz (Morrow, $15) "No presents, except the kind you make yourself. No fighting and no whining." Great ground rules from a grandma with moxie to spare.

Scrabble Creek by Patricia Wittmann, illustrated by Nancy Poydar (Macmillan, $14.95) A warm and winsome account of a family camping trip, set in the forests of the Pacific Northwest.

Sweet Clara and the Freedom Quilt by Deborah Hopkinson, illustrated by James Ransome (Knopf, $15) Realizing that a map, forbidden to slaves, "would show the way to freedom," a courageous young girl stitches her own path to liberty–a quilt revealing the route to the Underground Railroad. This extraordinary story, based in truth and accompanied by Ransome's luminous paintings, belongs in every child's library.

Elephant Moon written and illustrated by Bijou Le Tord (Doubleday, $14.95) A dreamy journey to the plains of East Africa and the remaining herds of elephants still wandering there. Absorbing natural history overlaid with the poetry of nightfall.

Abuela's Weave by Omar S. Castañeda, illustrated by Enrique O. Sanchez

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Grusha written and illustrated by Barbara Bustetter Falk (HarperCollins, $15) What's a bear to do, enjoying his fame as a Russian circus star but dreaming of honey and wild strawberries at home in Siberia? Fortunately, the wisdom of a kindhearted keeper prevails.

Fly By Night by June Crebbin, illustrated by Stephen Lambert (Candlewick, $14.95) "When," wonders an impatient owlet, "will it be *my* time?" A tale of waiting to try your wings, its magic made to order for younger listeners. Lissome chalk pastels by a noted British artist.

Fire Race: A Karuk Coyote Tale retold by Jonathan London with Lanny Pinola, afterword by Julian Lang, illustrated by Sylvia Long (Chronicle, $13.95) A spritely recital of trials overcome as the Animal People, headed by Coyote, wrest fire away from the gullible Yellow Jackets. Based on the story cycles of the Karuk, native to northwest California. Glowing, antic watercolors from the illustrator of *Ten Little Rabbits.*

The Legend of Lightning Larry by Aaron Shepard, illustrated by Tony Goffe (Scribner's, $14.95) Turning the gunslinger tale on its head, the author introduces one amazing cowpoke. Bad guys don't just back down for Larry, they downright reform. A story that will have young listeners laughing out loud and asking you to "read it again."

Pot Luck by Tobi Tobias, illustrated by Nola Langner Malone (Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, $15) A cake made from scratch, pink roses on the table–how to create a cozy supper for your granddaughter and your very best friend "from the Old Country."

Wild Fox: A True Story by Cherie Mason, illustrated by Jo Ellen McAllister Stammen (Down East Books, Camden, Maine, $15.95) "Have you ever touched the nose of a wild red fox? I have." Absolutely the outstanding natural history title of the year: the author's affecting chronicle of her encounters with Vicky, a regular visitor to her yard in Deer Isle, Maine. Mesmerizing watercolors.

Cotton Mill Town by Kathleen Hershey, illustrated by Jeanette Winter (Dutton, $12.99) The author's re-creation of childhood summers in a Southern hamlet where "I can read all day if I want

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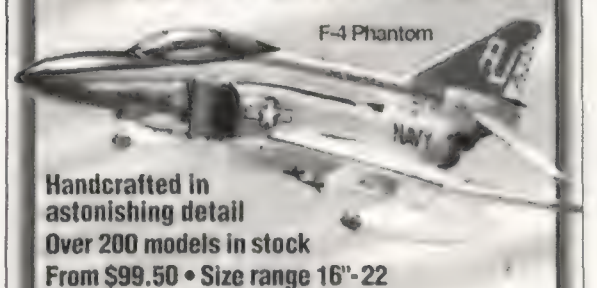

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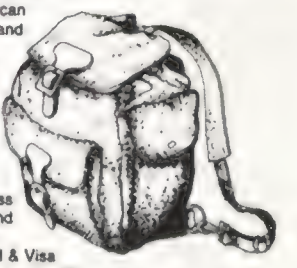

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to–except on the days we go fishing."

The Nose, adapted from the story by Nikolai Gogol, illustrated by Gennadij Spirin (David R. Godine, $17.95) The phantasmagorical text, treating the oddity of a nose that disappears one morning from the face of a civil servant and parades around St. Petersburg in the guise of a supercilious officer, makes for a riveting excursion into the surreal. Glorious paintings from one of Russia's leading illustrators should make this book a collector's item.

Squirrel Park written and illustrated by Lisa Campbell Ernst (Bradbury, $15.95) Don't even think about chopping down that oak tree in the center of town–because Stuart (the boy) and Chuck (the squirrel) can outwit you every time. A send-up of adult pomposity from the author of the beloved *Sam Johnson and the Blue Ribbon Quilt.*

Niki's Little Donkey written and illustrated by Coby Hol (North-South Books, $14.95) A child longs to keep her donkey from being sold at market, in a tale of persistence and ingenuity rewarded, set against the backdrop of a Greek island village.

Alamo Across Texas written and illustrated by Jill Stover (Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, $13) Don't let that drought get you down–even if you are a gator searching for water far from home. A story long on Lone Star charm.

The Seltzer Man written and illustrated by Ken Rush (Macmillan, $14.95) An affectionate tribute to Eli, who delivers seltzer, the "old-fashioned kind that comes in heavy glass bottles," to your house in Brooklyn, and who stays to dinner if you're lucky.

Bus Riders by Sharon Phillips Denslow, illustrated by Nancy Carpenter (Four Winds, $14.95) One of the most talented teams around has produced another triumph. Denslow's witty rendition of schoolbus chaos deserves droves of readers. Run, don't walk, to your bookstore for this one.

A Place For Grace by Jean Davies Okimoto, illustrated by Doug Keith (Sasquatch Books, Seattle, Washington, $14.95) Grace washes out as a Seeing Eye dog (she's undersized) but finds a home, and a great job, as a hearing dog. She's one plucky pooch; her specialty is being a snooze alarm. One of this year's most charming, large-hearted offerings.

Honkers by Jane Yolen, illustrated by Leslie Baker (Little, Brown, $14.95) Nurturing three abandoned goslings

through their first summer, a young girl discovers "the heart has its own compass." Watercolors tender and deft.

Over Back by Beverly Major, illustrated by Thomas B. Allen (HarperCollins, $15) Down "the dirt road the hay wagons have made," to a secret place where blueberries ripen and salamanders wait–until it's time for dinner. A timeless trek to a wild place.

Peppe the Lamplighter by Elisa Bartone, illustrated by Ted Lewin (Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, $14) Drawing on the days when "there was no electricity and the streetlamps in Little Italy had to be lit by hand," the author evokes her grandfather's childhood. Lewin's paintings make you feel that turn-of-the-century Mulberry Street is just around the next corner.

Mac & Marie & the Train Toss Surprise by Elizabeth Fitzgerald Howard, illustrated by Gail Gordon Carter (Four Winds, $14.95) On a still summer night, quiet enough to "hear ants dancing," two children wait for the Seaboard Florida Limited to clack over the tracks near their house. I won't spoil the surprise: if I could choose only one title from the current crop, it would be this marvelous, memorable book.

Our House by Emma and Paul Rogers, illustrated by Priscilla Lamont (Candlewick, $14.95) Over 200 years, a sturdy stone house shelters four generations of families, and as many years of memories and dreams. The winsome drawings and clever text make for a gentle excursion into time past and present.

A Painter written and illustrated by Douglas Florian (Greenwillow, $14) Just how does a painter work, anyway? A splendid introduction to the life of the imagination and the tools of the trade, certain to fascinate young artists.

The Gift by Aliana Brodmann, illustrated by Anthony Carnabuci (Simon & Schuster, $14) Recollections of a 1950s childhood in Munich underlie this tale of Hanukkah and the rewards of compassion. The paintings have the clarity and depth of a starry night.

Sweet Dreams, Willy written and illustrated by Lizi Boyd (Viking, $12.50) For the bedtime-resister in your life: a tranquil sleepytime voyage with crisp-as-a-crescent-moon illustrations.

Dumpling Soup by Jama Kim Rattigan, illustrated by Lillian Hsu-Flanders (Little, Brown, $15.95) Every New Year's Eve the author's extended Oahu family gathered for midnight fireworks and

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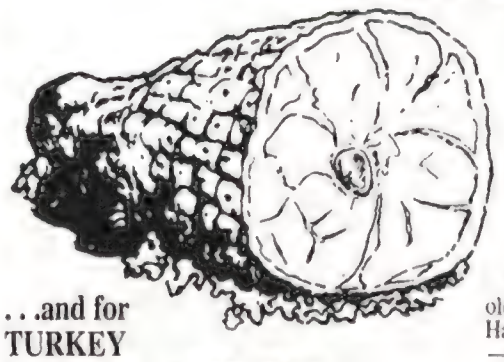

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Our House
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The Car Washing Street by Denise Lewis Patrick, illustrated by John Ward (Tambourine, $14) The way we wish all our city blocks could be: it's music and shiny hubcaps and ices from the cart on Saturday mornings. Front-step camaraderie at its neighborly best, with paintings friendly as a water fight.

Fruit & Vegetable Man by Roni Schotter, illustrated by Jeanette Winter (Little, Brown, $15.95) A gentle tale of "pears in pyramids," "the choicest chicory" and the power of helping hands.

Among the Orangutans: the Biruté Galdikas Story by Evelyn Gallardo (Chronicle, $13.95) An informative account of the renowned primatologist's work in Indonesia. For all children who care about the fate of the Earth, but particularly for girls who want to follow an out-of-the-ordinary dream.

The Chocolate Cow written and illustrated by Lilian Obligado (Simon & Schuster, $14) One balky bovine gives only the meagerest supply of milk, so she's going to have to prove her mettle. A charming and authentic portrayal of life on a Swiss mountainside.

Storm by W. Nikola-Lisa, illustrated by Michael Hays (Atheneum, $14.95) "Lightning in the hills, thunder right behind." A poetic, compelling evocation of an afternoon tempest.

Here Is the Arctic Winter by Madeleine Dunphy, illustrated by Alan James Robinson (Hyperion, $14.95) Snowy owl and caribou, narwhal and polar bear, surviving in the ice at the end of the world. The hypnotic text and paintings by the renowned wildlife artist mark the collaborators' stunning debut.

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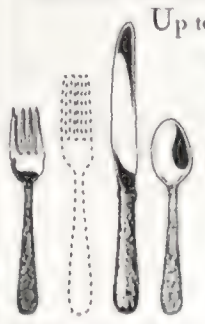

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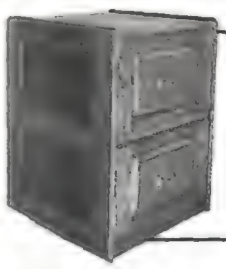

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by Daniel Pinkwater (Macmillan, $13.95) On a book tour gone wrong, writer Bramwell Wink-Porter eats soggy pancakes and endures a day of indignities at Melvinville Elementary. Sophisticated and hilarious, vintage Pinkwater.

Isabella's Bed written and illustrated by Alison Lester (Houghton Mifflin, $14.95) Seeking to unlock family secrets, two children set off on a fantastic voyage to South America. Another winner in Lester's series of enchanting books.

Snowy by Berlie Doherty, illustrated by Keith Bowen (Dial, $14) A loving look at a horse, "big as a mountain," who does an honest day's work for an honest day's hay.

Welcome Back Sun written and illustrated by Michael Emberley (Little, Brown, $14.95) One cold March morning each year, Norwegian villagers climb a mountain to herald the arrival of springtime sun and the end of the *murketiden*–the murky time. With evocative, shadow-deep watercolors.

The Big Storm by Rhea Tregebov, illustrated by Maryann Kovalski (Hyperion, $13.95) On the snowiest day of the year, there's one faithful feline who waits outside school for her mistress as the drifts mound up.

Two Very Little Sisters by Carol Carrick, illustrated by Erika Weihs (Clarion, $14.95) The true story of Lucy and Sarah Adams, "very small" but "perfect in every way," who became circus and Chautauqua performers at the turn of the century. Prim-as-a-pinafore charm.

Pearl Moscowitz's Last Stand by Arthur A. Levine, illustrated by Robert Roth (Tambourine, $14) You *can* fight city hall, and somewhere there might be neighbors cheering you on. An irresistibly droll account of how one formidable grandma, armed with nothing but her great noodle pudding, saved the last tree on her New York City street.

New Shoes for Silvia by Johanna Hurwitz, illustrated by Jerry Pinkney (Morrow, $15) Sometimes dreams come true, and sometimes those dreams arrive by post. A tribute to shoes "red as the inside of a watermelon," set in a sunny Latin American village.

The Five-Dog Night written and illustrated by Eileen Christelow (Clarion, $14.95) Forget the comforters, who needs blankets? Not old Ezra–he's got protection 20 paws deep. A rollicking Vermont yarn sure to become a favorite.

Ruth Law Thrills a Nation written and illustrated by Don Brown (Ticknor &

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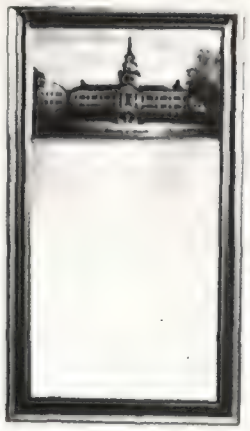

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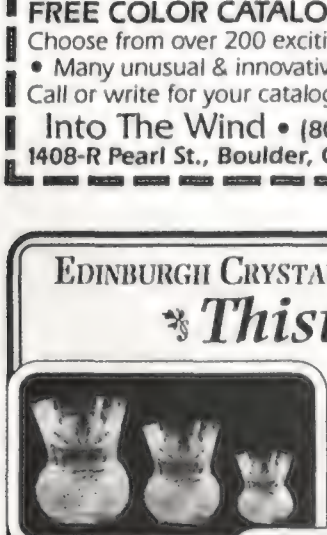

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Dare You! written and illustrated by James Mayhew (Clarion, $13.95) In the light of the silvery moon, an odyssey to allay any fears of beasties who go bump in the night. A puckish bedtime book.

Waira's First Journey written and illustrated by Eusebio Topooco (Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, $15) Each summer, families trek with their llamas to the great market at Topojo. From a Bolivian storyteller, a fascinating excursion into the rich culture and daily life of his people, the Aymara Indians.

Dinner at Aunt Connie's House written and illustrated by Faith Ringgold (Hyperion, $14.95) Sojourner Truth to Fannie Lou Hamer, Ringgold conjures up the stirring histories behind 12 path-finding African-American women.

Little Gray One by Jan Wahl, illustrated by Frané Lessac (Tambourine, $15) "The sun is rising . . . where quick cheetahs run" and a baby elephant ventures, at his mother's side, into a world of water holes and wildebeests. A peaceable, poignant glimpse of an Africa that is fast disappearing.

The Golden Carp and Other Tales from Vietnam by Lynette Dyer Vuong, illustrated by Manabu Saito (Lothrop, Lee & Shepard, $15) From a land where fish take on the forms of princesses, and friends are ever-faithful, an entrancing cycle of folktales, vividly retold.

Playful Slider: the North American River Otter by Barbara Juster Esbensen, illustrated by Mary Barrett Brown (Little, Brown, $15.95) An informative look at the prankish mammals, with arresting images from the noted wildlife painter.

Grandaddy and Janetta by Helen V. Griffith, illustrated by James Stevenson (Greenwillow, $14) Griffith is funny as all get-out. This companion to *Georgia Music* and *Grandaddy's Place* is definitely up to the mark, and the *New Yorker* cartoonist's drawings are just plain perfect.

Seven Loaves of Bread by Ferida Wolff, illustrated by Katie Keller (Tambourine, $14) The briskly paced re-education of one laggardly but well-meaning sister who "didn't like to work any harder than she had to." The paintings are homey and warm as–what else?–a fresh loaf of bread.

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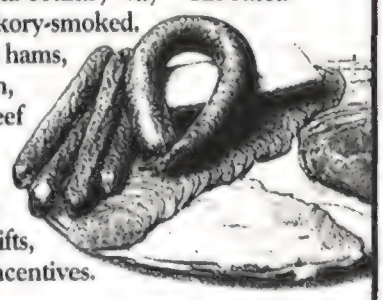

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A to Zen by Ruth Wells, illustrated by Yoshi (Picture Book Studio, $15.95) A singularly clever alphabet book: each letter stands for a word–*a* for *aikido*, *o* for *origami*–that opens a window on Japan past and present.

Pole Dog by Tres Seymour, illustrated by David Soman (Orchard, $14.95) Don't just pass by that stray dog who looks so forlorn: give him a good home. A book that will strike a special chord with anyone who has adopted an animal.

Grand Trees of America written and illustrated by Lisa Jorgenson (Roberts Rinehart, Niwot, Colorado, $8.95) An informative, state-by-state tribute to our largest and oldest arboreal citizens, with lots of intriguing botanical lore.

Until the Cows Come Home written and illustrated with hand-colored photographs by Patricia Mills (North-South Books, $14.95) The slow, sweet rhythms of one day on a West Virginia farm, with images faded and warm as a rag rug.

Amazon Boy written and illustrated by Ted Lewin (Macmillan, $14.95) Written in memory of Amazon activist Chico Mendes, it is the author's second lyrical tale of a journey to Brazil–a coming-into-wisdom story. If you buy one book on the rain forest, it should be this one.

Three Bags Full by Ragnhild Scamell, illustrated by Sally Hobson (Orchard Books, $14.95) The adventures of one "very, very kind" sheep, Millie by name, piquantly told and boldly illustrated. One of this year's most endearing books.

Voices from the Fields: Children of Migrant Farmworkers Tell Their Stories interviews and photographs by S. Beth Atkin (Little, Brown, $16.95) Eloquent testimony behind the hands that pick the lettuce, the strawberries, for our tables. An extraordinary document.

Winter's Orphans: The Search for a Family of Mountain Lion Cubs, A True Story by Robert C. Farentinos, illustrated by Shannon Keegan (Roberts Rine-

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hart, $19.95) The compelling saga of the wildlife biologist who succeeded in saving four cubs. Children will be transfixed by this story.

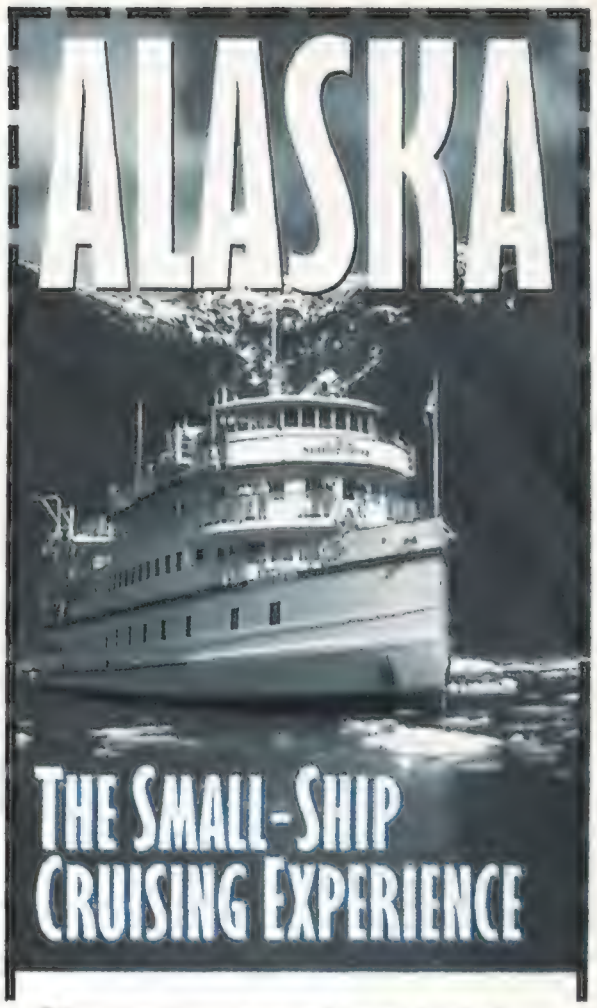
The Day Adam Got Mad by Astrid Lindgren, translated by Barbara Lucas, illustrated by Marit Törnqvist (Farrar, Straus & Giroux, $13) How to talk to a big bull when he's mad as a little hornet: a 7-year-old boy takes charge. An entertaining romp from the author of *Pippi Longstocking*, with truly inspired watercolors of rural Sweden long ago.

Take Action: An Environmental Book for Kids by Ann Love and Jane Drake, illustrated by Pat Cupples (Tambourine, $13.95) and **The Sierra Club Kid's Guide to Planet Care & Repair** by Vicki McVey, illustrated by Martha Weston (Sierra Club Books, $16.95) Two lively, eminently practical and engagingly informative primers on how to save the Earth. With outlines for projects galore. Budding environmentalists will take heart in a big way.

Harriet and the Promised Land written and illustrated by Jacob Lawrence (Simon & Schuster, $15) A retelling in verse of Harriet Tubman, "born to be free," who risked her life again and again to lead slaves from bondage. Magnificent paintings by one of America's most distinguished artists.

Santa's Book of Names written and illustrated by David McPhail (Little, Brown, $14.95) It sounds like a Christmas book (which it is), but it's really a story about the power conferred on a child who, despite obstacles, learns to read. As always, a creation from McPhail is cause for celebration.
Kathleen Burke

Tomorrow on Rocky Pond
written and illustrated by
Lynn Reiser



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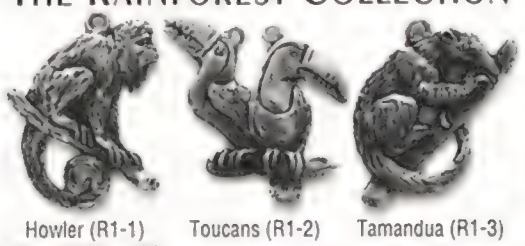

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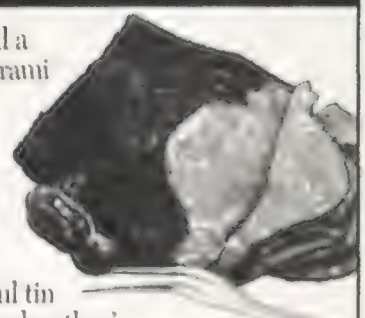

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By Diane Moczar

In France, a fare that is not fair is almost certainly fair play, oui?

It doesn't take a tourist long to discover that the French are a theatrical people who delight in making full-blown dramas out of everyday incidents. The prologue to one such masterwork was already in progress when I boarded a train bound from Lyon to Paris last year and occupied the only seat still available in the second-class compartment.

The main character, sitting opposite me, was a voluble, dark-haired woman with a tragic air, a sort of middle-aged Joan of Arc. She was disclosing her anxiety about something to a timid little nun on her left and a sympathetic woman on my right who was knitting, like a benevolent version of the *tricoteuses* of the French Revolution, plying their needles while urging on the plotters. On Joan's right was a businessman waving out the window to his family. The end of my bench was occupied by a silent couple who turned out to be English; they would serve as extras with non-speaking parts.

The curtain went up as the compartment door opened and the conductor appeared. It soon became clear that he was the villain. When he examined Joan's ticket, his eyebrows rose and he began to berate her. "I was not informed of it when I bought my ticket, Monsieur!" she cried. "The ticket seller did not tell me!"

"I don't know what you were told," the villain retorted nastily. He now had the attention of the whole compartment, and it was a hostile attention; Joan, after all, was one of us, while the villain was one of the authorities.

Joan and the conductor withdrew to the corridor where they could be seen in an impassioned argument, Joan gesturing wildly, her opponent sinister and implacable. Meanwhile, the tricoteuse filled me in. Certain trains in France charged a supplemental fare payable at the time a ticket was purchased, she explained. Failure to pay before boarding was punishable by an extravagant fine.

When the heroine and the villain came back, the aroused compartment began to argue Joan's case. The businessman wanted to know why she could not just pay the supplement and escape the fine. A chorus of voices supported him. Only the English couple remained mute.

I tried to explain to the Englishwoman what was going on, but she did not seem interested. I suppose, being English, she did not really care what happened to Joan of Arc.

The atmosphere became more heated. Joan protested again that she had not been told of the supplement, and the villain continued to insist that ignorance of the law was no excuse. "It's always that way," intoned the tricoteuse. "The innocent suffer for the guilty."

The conductor went in search of reinforcements, and the entr'acte was taken up with a discussion of basic principles. "They haven't the right!" the tricoteuse proclaimed. She had touched a French nerve: the real issue here was the Rights of Man. The nun exhibited her railway pass and explained how limited were the rights it gave her. We sympathized warmly. The tyranny of the railroad authorities over the people who travel second class was becoming very clear.

The door opened to reveal the chief conductor, closely followed by his lackey. Drawing himself up and enunciating clearly, he began his opening speech. "I have three things to say," he declared. We listened politely, admiring his logic and delivery. The substance of his address, however, smacked of monarchy. The conductors had no right to persecute Joan, the compartment reiterated, since it was that ticket seller in Lyon who was guilty and should himself be fined, if not executed.

"There ought to be big signs near the tracks," cried the tricoteuse, putting down her knitting in order to gesture with both hands. "Signs asking, 'Have You Paid Your Supplement?'" The trainmen smirked. Informing the public, we were left to surmise, would take much of the fun out of being a conductor.

Gradually, however, the authorities became more sympathetic. They even told Joan how to appeal her fine. They lounged in the doorway, and conversation grew desultory until it occurred to someone to wonder aloud how many supplement evaders turned up on trains such as ours. The conductor acknowledged that the criminals often escaped detection. "On a train like this," he volunteered, "we don't even have time to check all the tickets."

There was a thoughtful silence. It occurred to everyone that not only had the first conductor squandered much of his working time harassing Joan, but that together these two men had spent the past 20 minutes chatting in our compartment, and now we were pulling into the station in Paris. The first-class cars in the front of the train, it appeared, had escaped their attention. Once again, the privileged few had gone their merry way.

After the train had stopped, Joan stood in the doorway of the compartment, struck an extravagant pose and addressed the Britons. "I wish to apologize, Madame and Monsieur!" she cried. "Please excuse me for disturbing your journey with my troubles!" She seemed to expect a graceful French demurral in the style, perhaps, of Racine, but of course the extras had no lines. After waiting a suitably long moment, Joan swept out, and we swept after her. Curtain.

The drama of the second-class compartment was over. But that, I reminded myself, was only the end of one play, not the demise of theater itself. This, remember, was France.

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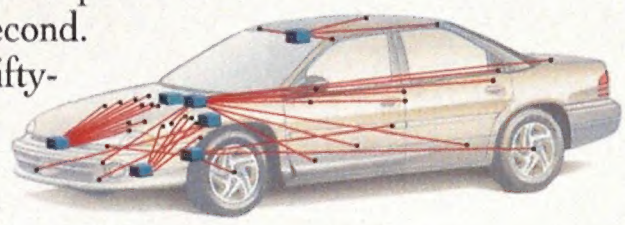

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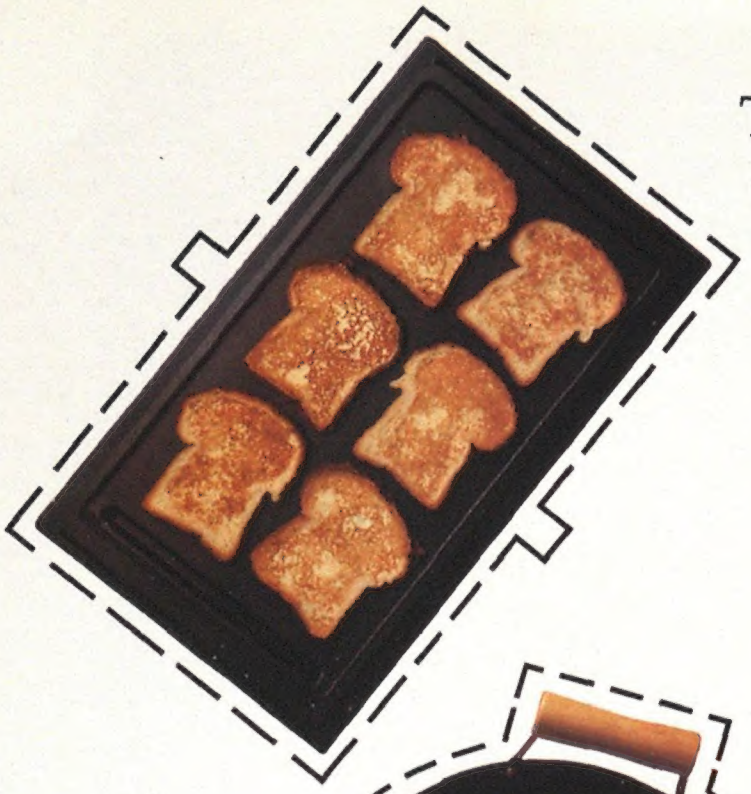

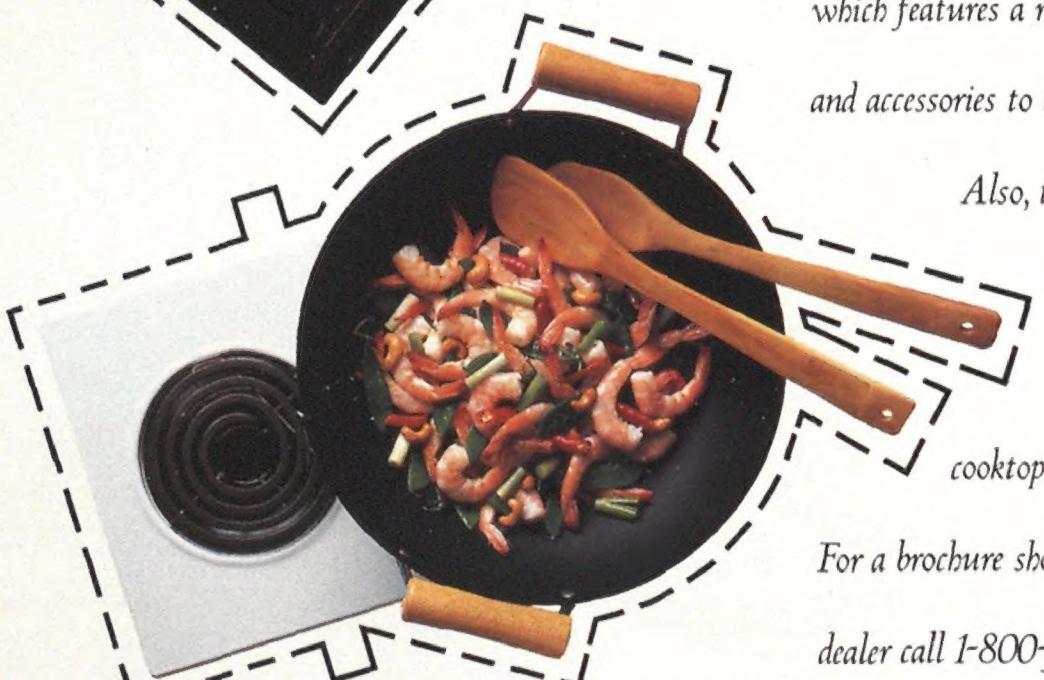

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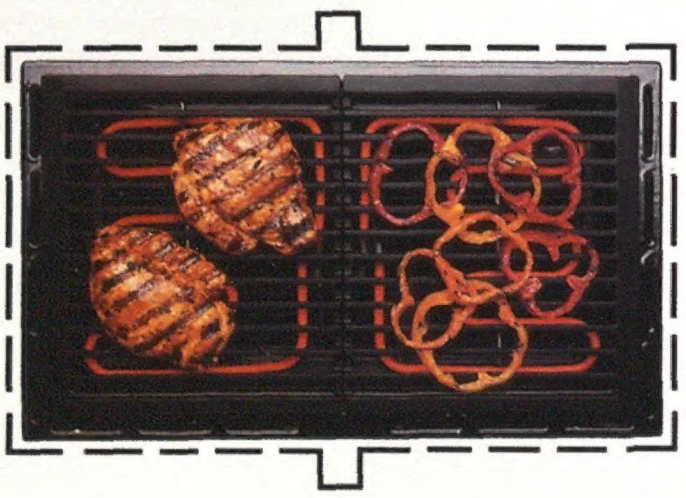

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